

## TOWARD LEGISLATIVE CONTROL OF THE C.I.A.

STANLEY N. FUTTERMAN\*

### I. INTRODUCTION

Every few years the C.I.A. is rediscovered. The inspiration is rarely the same: Guatemala in 1954; the U-2 incident in 1960; the Bay of Pigs in 1961; support for the National Students Association in 1967. This year it is mainly Laos.

How far the Nixon Administration has been forced to come in the past year in acknowledging the C.I.A.'s role in Laos may be seen by a comparison of two official reports. In March, 1970, in response to increasingly detailed newspaper reports and rising pressures from Congress, President Nixon issued a 3,000 word statement on Laos, including a nine point description of "the precise nature of our aid to Laos."<sup>1</sup> There was no mention of the Central Intelligence Agency. On August 3, 1971 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released a staff report on the situation in Laos, cleared for publication by the Administration after 5 weeks of negotiation with the Committee staff. The published report reflects numerous deletions insisted on by the Administration but includes the now officially conceded revelation that "the most effective [friendly] military force in Laos is not the Royal Lao Army, but the . . . irregular forces which are trained, equipped, supported, advised, and to a great extent, organized by the C.I.A."<sup>2</sup>

There have been revelations about C.I.A. foreign operations before and official or semi-official confirmations of them. What is unusual about the official confirmations of C.I.A. operations in Laos is that they have been forced out of the Administration while the activities are still in progress. The revelations come also at a time when the Congress is heavily engaged in an effort to legislate limits to the President's discretion in foreign affairs.

These events have led to the introduction in the present Congress of several bills which comprise the first proposed legislation intended to bring the C.I.A.'s foreign operations under substantive legislative restraints. It is not that past years were without congressional flurries over the C.I.A. Over the years some 132 bills had been introduced either to establish standing committees to oversee the C.I.A.'s activities or to authorize special investigations of the C.I.A.'s role. Not one passed, and only two ever reached the floor of even one House, where both were decisively defeated by better than two-thirds majorities.<sup>3</sup> The remarkable thing is that the activity was all confined to jurisdictional battles within the Congress. The traditional issue has been which small group of Senators and Representatives would be privy to the doings of the C.I.A.

Not until 1967 was the first bill introduced to limit what the C.I.A. could do with its funds: Rep. Ryan's measure to prohibit the C.I.A. from contributing funds to domestic organizations.<sup>4</sup> The Johnson Administration avoided what surely would have been considerable pressure for such legislation only by announcing that all existing covert financial assistance to the nation's educational and private organizations would be terminated by about the end of the year.<sup>5</sup> More recently, Congress has compelled the Nixon Administration to terminate covert C.I.A. funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and forced it to seek legislation to provide open government funding of the Radio.

STATINTL

# Radio Liberty Hard Hit by Slash in Funds

BY FRANK STARR  
 [Washington Bureau Chief]

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—Radio Liberty, one of the chief non-Communist sources of news for Soviet citizens, may have to start selling its transmitters to meet appropriations cuts enacted by Congress, a source close to the operation said today.

The decision already has been taken to liquidate some Radio Liberty activities developed over a period of 20 years, the source said, altho these activities could not be identified pending notice to affected employees.

Radio Free Europe, funded with Radio Liberty and suffering the same budget cuts, will be required to violate existing labor contracts with the American Newspaper Guild by not honoring negotiated three-year raises, William Durkee, its president, said.

## End Funding by CIA

The funding crisis for the two stations arose out of a still-unresolved controversy opened last January when Sen. Clifford Case [R., N.J.] proposed ending clandestine funding for the stations thru the Central Intelligence Agency in favor of direct government funding.

While not objecting to public funding, as opposed to CIA funding, the Nixon administration sought to establish an independent nonprofit corporation to fund and administer the radios so they would not become official voices of the government.

After stormy hearings in which Chairman J. William Fulbright [D., Ark.] of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee suggested killing both overseas radio operations, the Senate passed a bill calling for studies of the operations and one year's funding of \$35 million thru the State Department.

## Conferees Cut Funds

The House on Nov. 30 passed, 211 to 12, a bill providing \$36 million thru the chairman of a proposed commission on international radio broadcasting which would study the operations, make recommendations, and cease to exist in 1973.

However, compromise between the two bills became hung up in the confrontation between Senate and House leaderships over foreign aid authorizations. Pending authorization, Senate-House conferees on Dec. 9 slashed a supplemental appropriations bill, cutting the radio funds to \$32 million.

Even if a continuing resolution is passed before the current session closes, it must allow only \$32 million for both stations, three-quarters of whose expenditures are for personnel living in Europe. Thus both are facing in addition to sharp budget cuts, higher operating costs due to reduction in the value of the dollar abroad.

## On Air 24 Hours Daily

Radio Liberty broadcasts 24 hours a day in 20 Soviet languages to the Soviet Union and is, in the current crisis, the only non-Communist source of news of the Indian-Pakistani war for the large Soviet Moslem population of Central Asia.

Of eight transmitters in West Germany, six in Spain, and three on Taiwan, all but one or two may have to be sold, sources said, which would mean loss of frequencies, air time, and geographical coverage.

Radio Free Europe, which

gets about \$19 million of the \$32 million for both stations but which raises, in addition, more than \$3 million privately each year, faces a less-urgent situation but will be unable to participate in annual salary raise negotiations in West Germany, Durkee said.

## Audience of 31 Million

He added that if funds are not provided in 1973, it, too, will have to start curtailing operations.

Based primarily in West Germany, Radio Free Europe broadcasts in their own languages to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania on an average of 15 hours a day from 32 transmitters. It counts an estimated audience of 31 million people.

Both stations seek to maintain a semblance of independence of the United States government so, unlike the Voice of America, they can be free to broadcast commentary and other material on internal affairs of the Communist countries.

11 DEC 1971  
Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00

## Our Readers Write



Letters from readers are welcome. All are subject to condensation. Views given are not necessarily those of the paper.

### Voices of freedom

To The Christian Science Monitor:

May I offer some comments on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, an issue which has been discussed in your columns and raised in Congress recently.

During my tenure as National Director of Intercultural Affairs of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I was personally acquainted with these important broadcasting institutions; indeed, from their inception. Therefore, I feel I can speak with some authority on the subject.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and I want to stress this point most emphatically, have invariably defended all individuals and groups of people, regardless of their nationality or religion, against persecution by Communist regimes.

For many years, excerpts regarding Jews and Judaism from the press behind the Iron Curtain were made available to me through the courtesy of the Free Europe organizations. But above all, I was always deeply impressed by RFE's broadcasts, which consistently combated the anti-Semitism fermented by Communist regimes, particularly in Poland and the Soviet Union. Of special value and importance have been the untiring efforts of RFE and Radio Liberty to unmask a recently initiated anti-Semitic campaign in Poland and to encourage the Polish people to stand strong against this new totalitarian provocation.

Radio Liberty broadcast back to the U.S.S.R. many letters, petitions, and declarations from Soviet Jews, thus providing a forum, from which the feelings and desires expressed in these appeals were being made known to millions of listeners—Jews and non-Jews alike — inside the U.S.S.R. Radio Liberty has consistently been stressing for its Jewish listeners an awareness of their religious, national, and cultural identity.

My many conversations with several people, recent arrivals in the United States from Poland, who had been forced to leave the country of their birth as a result of anti-Jewish discriminations and anti-Semitic campaigns, confirmed this knowledge. They stressed the fact that as Jews they would have been even more defenseless against the Communist assault if in its daily broadcasts Radio Free Europe had not exposed these lies and distortions.

Some years ago I, myself, had an opportunity to see RFE at work during a visit to Poland.

All this may account for the recent efforts of Communist diplomats to silence both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. I am convinced that to yield to the pressures of Communist tyranny, thereby silencing and muzzling this voice of freedom, would be counter to the best interests and traditions of the United States, including its Congress.

Rome

Joseph L. Lichten

7 DEC. 1971

# CIA Secretly Claims Credit for Dubcek Rise

Chicago Sun-Times

WASHINGTON — The Central Intelligence Agency has secretly claimed a large share of credit for the rise of the liberal and ill-fated Dubcek regime in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The specific claim is that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty — two CIA broadcasting stations in West Germany — were instrumental in provoking the ouster of Antonin Novotny, a pro-Soviet Stalinist, as head of the Czech Communist party.

Alexander Dubcek replaced Novotny in January, 1968 and established a major program of liberation that led to the Soviet invasion the following August.

IN JUSTIFYING the invasion, Moscow alleged that members of the Dubcek regime were plotting with Western agents to upset the Communist system in Czechoslovakia.

But Senate sources, who have investigated the activities of RFE and RL, discounted any parallel to the Hungarian uprising in 1956, when RFE was accused of encouraging the insurgents to expect the United States to intervene militarily against the Russians.

A close check of subsequent transmissions, one source said, showed that the two stations have scrupulously avoided any statements implying that the United States might come to the aid of liberal, anti-Soviet regimes in Eastern Europe.

THE FATE of RFE and RL is in the hands of a Senate-House conference committee debating how to shift their operations from the CIA to above-board government control. Emergency financing for the stations ends today but enough CIA funds are thought to be on hand to keep them going until Congress finally makes up its mind.

The CIA's role in the events in Czechoslovakia came to light in a confidential report by the Council on Foreign Relations that has been obtained by the Chicago Sun-Times.

The report contains a digest of a discussion between several CIA officials and others in New York on Jan. 8, 1968, three days after Dubcek replaced Novotny.

AMONG THOSE taking part were the late Allen Dulles, first director of the CIA, and Richard Bissell, former deputy director for plans (clandestine operations).

During the discussion, one of the participants, obviously relying upon CIA information, declared: "A couple of much-criticized public media projects (cited by name) had proven of value, as the fall of Novotny in Czechoslovakia suggested."

Other reliable intelligence sources confirmed that the censored projects cited were RFE and RL. The sources said the two stations successfully disparaged Novotny as an antiquated Stalinist and played up the possibility of reform through utopian socialism.



## *Radio Free Europe's Continuing Value*

At this moment of some promise in East-West affairs—when a completed Berlin agreement, mutual troop-cut talks, a presidential trip to Moscow and a European security conference are all on the near horizon—it behooves the United States to do what it can to ensure that the Europe which emerges from these diplomatic ministrations is an open Europe and not one that remains divided and closed. To pursue political settlements that would in effect put a Western imprimatur on Soviet efforts to seal off the East would run counter to the values as well as the political interests of the West. President Nixon, we believe, understands this very well.

There is currently at stake, however, the very existence of what we believe to be a particularly important channel of East-West communication, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Broadcasting to East Europe and the Soviet Union respectively, they offer news and comment on local affairs which are censored by the local press and radio and which cannot be easily provided by an

official station like the Voice of America. The CIA ran RFE and RL for years. The Congress stripped that cover last year but has yet to agree on how or even whether to finance and run them in the future. They are hanging on a continuing resolution which expires Dec. 8.

Both houses agree on the principles of interim financing and study. But where the Senate would have the State Department run RFE and RL for a year pending expert Senate-ordered studies of their policy and operations, the House would set up an administration-dominated commission both to study and run them for two years. Plainly, the stations' future would be more assured under the House version but the Senate, whose bill it is that the House amended, holds the high cards in their imminent conference. Our own principal concern is that the conference act and not leave the stations in limbo any longer. We believe that any serious study, regardless of its sponsorship, will confirm the worth and continuing relevance of RFE and RL in a period of developing detente.

E - 326,376  
S - 541,868

NOV 26 1971

# Spy Budget Secrecy May End

By TAYLOR PENSONEAU

A Staff Correspondent of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26.

THE BELEAGUERED CONGRESSIONAL minority that has fought to pry loose the Government's secret figures on intelligence expenditures mounted a challenge this week, that though unsuccessful, may make the objective more attainable.

Although an attempt by Senator Stuart Symington (Dem.), Missouri, to limit intelligence outlays was rebuffed by the Senate as expected, an increasing number of members—including some of Symington's opponents—predicted that the day would come when Congress was no longer in the dark on the country's undercover activities.

Possibly most significant, the debate on Symington's proposal brought out that the seemingly broad war being organized and financed in Laos by the Central Intelligence Agency may finally persuade some previously hesitant members of Congress to assert themselves more in this ticklish field.

THE MOST SUCCINCT appraisal of Symington's effort came from one of the opponents, Senator Charles Mathias Jr. (Rep.), Maryland, who remarked moments before the vote that the Missourian had focused "our attention on water that is not only muddy, but actually murky."

"Many members may be reluctant to stir this water for fear of what they may find," Mathias said. "I think we cannot delay much longer in turning our attention in this direction for fear that what is there may evade our examination and our concern."

This feeling may be realized sooner than expected because a number of Senators, in the wake of the Symington matter, said they would push for an executive session by the Senate to consider the intelligence question. It could mean a major breakthrough for those of Symington's persuasion—especially if a censored transcript was made public later.

SYMINGTON sought to amend the Department of Defense appropriations bill for fiscal 1972 to place a 4-billion-dollar ceiling on intelligence outlays. Most estimates put this yearly expenditure currently at more than 5 billion dollars.

The proposed limit, which the Senate rejected Tuesday 56 to 31, would have applied to the CIA, the National Security Agency, the Defense Intelligence Agency

and undercover endeavors by the armed forces.

Many observers regard Symington's move as the most determined attempt yet to force Congress to account at least somewhat for the activities of these agencies.

Although waste and duplication in many of the intelligence operations were given as the most obvious reasons for the amendment, the greater intent was to provide Congress, and the American public, with more insight into both the domestic and foreign activities of these agencies.

USING HIMSELF as an example, Symington contended that he had been unable to determine the appropriations this year for intelligence, even though he is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee as well as an ex-officio member of the Appropriations Committee.

Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem.), Arkansas, asserted in the debate Tuesday that the Missourian should not feel insulted because nobody had discovered where the intelligence funds were in the defense appropriations measure.

"When they read a line item and find that there is so much for aircraft, or for a carrier, those may or may not be the real amounts," Fulbright said.

REPLYING Senator Allen J. Ellender (Dem.), Louisiana, chairman of the Appropriations Committee and a main opponent of Symington's amendment said that there was no specific appropriations for intelligence activities. "They are funded from many different appropriations included in the bill," he said.

Much of the argument this week centered on the CIA, which came under congressional scrutiny earlier this year for its clandestine role in the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. In his support, Fulbright was particularly critical of the CIA.

"One of the things that worries me most of all is that I do not see any reason why we should pass appropriations for the CIA to organize an army, pay the troops and conduct a full-scale war in Laos," Fulbright said.

"Yet people of this country think we have a democracy in which a war, if one is to be fought, has to be declared by Congress. Yet Congress did not know about the war in Laos until it was well under way."

When prodded by fellow Senators, Ellender conceded that he did not know in advance about CIA financing of any army in Laos. He said further that he had "never asked, to begin with, whether or not there were any funds to carry on the war in this sum the CIA has asked for."

"It never dawned on me, to ask about it," Ellender said. "I did see it publicized in the newspapers some time ago."

Fulbright and his allies pointed to Ellender's statement as a prime example of the necessity for greater congressional awareness of undercover activities.

Ellender became a prime target of the Symington side, because of an occurrence last week that the Missourian related to the Senate Tuesday. Symington, when asking staff members of the Appropriations Committee about intelligence figures, was told that they could discuss the matter only with Ellender and four other senior members of the panel.

"THIS MEANS that these billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money are being authorized and appropriated by the Senate with the knowledge and approval of just five of its members," Symington contended. The other four are Senators John L. McClelland (Dem.), Arkansas; John C. Stennis (Dem.), Mississippi; Milton R. Young (Rep.), North Dakota, and Margaret Chase Smith (Rep.), Maine.

Symington's mention of this matter constituted an attack on the system and, therefore, possibly his last jab of the day. As the argument ensued, one of the five named near Symington answered, "but why aren't the rest of us to be trusted, too?"

"You're to be trusted," Sym-

ington answered, "but why aren't the rest of us to be trusted, too?"

Ellender was not hushed in his rebuttal as he told the Senate that "this method of appropriating funds for these intelligence activities has been in

effect for at least 20 years that I know of, since I have been on the committee."

Only a few persons consider these funding requests because of the sensitivity of the subject, Ellender said. In addition, he expressed an opinion of many of Symington's opponents in saying that the intelligence field was too much of a hot potato to "discuss in the open."

THIS APPROACH was adopted by Young also, who asserted that proper defense of the CIA in the debate would require documentation of activities that could not be done.

"Spying is a dirty business, but it is a business every nation in the world engages in," Young said. "Russia does a bigger job of it than we do. You can not disclose secret information."

In an action earlier this year against the use of intelligence funds, the Senate passed a bill that would provide \$35,000,000 in fiscal 1972 for financing the operations of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through the Secretary of State.

The measure, sponsored by Senator Clifford P. Case (Rep.),

New Jersey, is intended to divorce the CIA from the funding of the stations. Radio Free Europe, beamed to eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, beamed to the Soviet Union, operate in West Germany, ostensibly on private contributions.

However, Case said in January that funds had been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the costs of the stations.

The House has approved a bill providing for a commission to conduct a two-year study of the stations. Continued funding of them would be channeled through the commission. A compromise between the two bills will have to be worked out in a conference between the two houses of Congress.

# House Votes Radio Free Europe Funds for 2 Years

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 —

The House of Representatives approved an administration-backed measure today that would provide funds to keep Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe alive for at least two more years.

By a vote of 271 to 12, the House paved the way for the creation of a nine-man commission to study and make recommendations on the future of the controversial stations. Until this year they had been clandestinely financed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The House bill, which had been reported out by the Foreign Affairs Committee represented a compromise between a measure adopted earlier by the Senate calling for direct funding for one year through the Secretary of State and the original Administration bill for the creation of a permanent nonprofit organization to administer the stations.

## Bill Returned to Senate

The bill now goes back to the Senate for further action. Backers of the House measure expect opposition from Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, who has shown little sympathy for continuing the stations, which he has called "vestiges of the cold war."

Under the provisions of the House measure, \$36-million would be authorized for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and \$38.5-million for the 1973 fiscal year. No other Government financing would be permitted.

A nine-man Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, with two members each from the House, Senate, and Administration, and three from private life, including broadcast experts, would set up "to

review and evaluate international radio broadcasting and related activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

A report would be submitted to the President for transmission to Congress by Nov. 30, 1971, but the stations would be given funds until June 30, 1973.

## Broadcasts to Soviet Bloc

Radio Free Europe, established in 1950, and Radio Liberty, in 1951, broadcast to the peoples of Communist countries in Europe. Radio Free Europe beams its programs to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. Radio Liberty directs its broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

A report submitted to the House by Representative Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said that in the early nineteen-fifties, Radio Free Europe engaged in psychological warfare and its broadcasts were "polemical and politically oriented."

But by the mid-nineteen-fifties, the report said, "it dropped this approach and developed a highly professional staff with specialized linguistic and research capabilities."

"The focus is upon objective and accurate news reporting, and balanced commentaries," the report said. "The current emphasis is to give encouragement to the indigenous forces of peaceful reform and to provide a mechanism for increasing within authoritarian governments the public accountability of public officials for their public acts."

The report said that Radio Liberty initially aimed at "liberation" of the Soviet Union, but this soon shifted to "liberalization." It said that the station offered "positive alternatives to the Soviet system, couched in friendly tones." Radio Liberty, which is heavily jammed by the Soviet Union, also broadcasts

extensively from the unpublished manuscripts that are smuggled to the West.

Both radio organizations also have research and monitoring staffs that publish material on developments in the Communist world.

Because the stations often broadcast material otherwise not available in the Communist media, the Soviet Union and its allies have long sought their abolition. They are both based in Munich, so the Communist Governments have put pressure on the West German Government to have the stations removed.

## Senate Rejects Proposal

The future of the stations became an issue earlier this year when Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, disclosed that the C.I.A. had been financing them. He said he would support their continuation but only if their funds were openly appropriated by Congress.

The Nixon Administration

submitted a proposal for a non-Private International Communications, Inc., which would have been independent of the Government but financed by Congress. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected this proposal and pushed through the Senate a stopgap one-year measure providing \$35-million through the State Department.

The Administration objected to the Senate bill because it sought to disassociate the two stations from the United States Government. The Voice of America, an arm of the Government, reflects American policy, but Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which often are more incisive in their criticism do not.

The Administration said it would support the compromise offered by Representative Dante B. Fascell, Democrat of Florida, which set up the temporary commission and financed the stations for two years.

20 NOV 1971

# House Okays Funds, Study For Overseas Broadcasts

New York Times News Service

The House has approved a Nixon administration-backed measure that will provide funds to keep Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty alive for another 2 years.

By a vote of 271 to 12 yesterday, the House paved the way for creation of a nine-man commission to make recommendations on the future of the controversial stations, which until this year had been funded primarily by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The House bill, which had been reported out by the Foreign Affairs Committee, repre-

sented a compromise between a measure passed earlier by the Senate, which called for direct funding for one year through the secretary of state, and the original administration bill, which called for creation of a permanent nonprofit organization to administer the stations.

The bill now goes back to the Senate for further action, and backers of the House measure expect opposition from Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He has shown little sympathy with the idea of continuing the stations.

Under the provisions of the House measure, \$36 million would be authorized for the 1972 fiscal year, which started July, and \$38.5 million for fiscal 1973. No other government funds would be permitted.

A commission with two members each from the House, Senate and administration and three from outside of government, including broadcast experts, would "review and evaluate international radio broadcasting and related activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

the other way around. It may not be. There are certain concurrent resolutions that must be passed by the other body, and we have to wait on them.

Mr. GROSS. Could the gentleman give us any idea how long this recess might be? Will that carry us into the night?

Mr. BOGGS. No. My expectation would be that it would not be long, and it may not be at all.

Mr. GROSS. That would be my hope. If we are going into recess for the transaction of business that could run until late, I would certainly make sure that there was a quorum here to transact such business. I only say this because—

Mr. BOGGS. I am entirely sympathetic with the gentleman's point of view. I am as anxious to let the Members conclude today's business as quickly as possible as the gentleman is, but we are all confronted, I think, with certain inescapable facts.

Mr. GROSS. I say that because I think the good things of life ought to be spread to the greatest number.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR WEEK OF NOVEMBER 29

(Mr. ARENDS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time in order to ask the majority leader if he will inform us of the legislative program.

Mr. BOGGS. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. ARENDS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. BOGGS. In reply to the gentleman, let me say that we will conclude the legislative program for this week with the conclusion of the pending bill. We will be in recess all of next week.

When we return on Monday a week, we will continue the consideration of the Federal election reform bill. We will be in the amendment stage on that bill when we return, and a final vote is anticipated either on Monday or on Tuesday.

That will be followed by H.R. 11589, the foreign sale of passenger vessels, which has previously been on the whip notice. That has an open rule with 1 hour of debate.

Then we will have the D.C. appropriation bill.

I should like to announce in connection therewith that of the foreign aid appropriation and the supplemental appropriation, which are the last two regular appropriations to be considered, are ready for action, we will call them up sometime during that week.

H.R. 1163, strategic storable agricultural commodities amendment, subject to a rule being granted.

Conference reports may, of course, be brought up at any time and any further program will be announced later.

Mr. ARENDS. May I just say to the gentleman that according to this an-

the election reform bill will be the first order of business when we return on November 29

Mr. BOGGS. That is correct.

#### RAILROAD-HIGHWAY SAFETY— MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

##### To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress part I of a two-part study of railroad-highway safety in accordance with the requirements of the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-458).

Railroad-highway grade crossing safety is not a simple issue. It has many complexities which arise from such factors as the division of authorities and responsibilities for grade crossing safety among many governmental levels and jurisdictions, the important role of the private railroad companies who own and maintain the rights-of-way, the division of financial responsibilities between government and the private industry, and the cost and reliability of protective devices and grade separations.

The Report was prepared by the Department of Transportation as a comprehensive background survey of the problems involved. It contains a useful history of the grade crossing issue, a review of current problems and a discussion of the grade crossing problem within the context of highway safety.

Any recommendations for specific action will be presented in Part II of this Report to be submitted by next July 1972, under the provisions of the Highway Safety Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-305).

I commend this Report to you as important groundwork for a better understanding of the issues in this field, and I request that any definite legislative action on this subject be deferred until Part II of the Report has been transmitted to the Congress.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, November 19, 1971.

#### CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 387 of November 15, I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

#### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

(Mr. DENT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, I read with interest the colloquy in yesterday's Rec-

ord on the Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ERLBORN) and the gentlewoman from Oregon (Mrs. GREEN) concerning the effect of the Equal Employment Opportunities Act as passed by the House. I must say that all the discussion about the Legislative Reorganization Act and whether or not extensions of remarks should be placed in different type, certainly clouds the issue. The heart of the matter is whether the Erlborn substitute, which was narrowly substituted for the committee bill, supersedes the Equal Pay Act.

In my opinion it does and in rereading the materials which Congressman ERLBORN released at the time he introduced his bill I get the distinct impression that at that time he may have so concluded as well. In the "Explanation and Analysis of H.R. 9247," which the gentleman from Illinois inserted in the Record, he states that the effect of his "exclusive remedy" section was: "to supersede employment discrimination proceedings now being filed under the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the National Labor Relations Act, amongst others." If the "amongst others" did not include the Equal Pay Act, I would like to know what others it did include. Mrs. GREEN's repeated contentions then, are absolutely precise.

Let me add in conclusion that our opinion of the effect of the Erlborn substitute is supported by many others outside this Chamber. A casual reading of the hearings held recently by the Senate Labor Subcommittee on their version of the act provides several examples. In particular I call attention to the statements by Olga Mador, vice president of the United Automobile Workers, Mrs. Sherman Ross, chairman of the Legislative Program Committee of the American Association of University Women, and Doris Meisner of the National Women's Political Caucus.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 18, ASSISTANCE TO RADIO FREE EUROPE AND TO RADIO LIB- ERTY

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 699 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 699

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 18) to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. After general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Foreign Affairs now printed in the bill as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule, and all points of order against said substitute for failure to comply with the provisions of

STATINTL

STATINTL



olution to safeguard the Hungarian Holy Crown of St. Stephen. In my letter to my colleagues, I said:

In the past years, many of us have joined together during this week and, on the floor of the House, lamented the plight of those many foreign nations who still live under Communist domination and oppression. Unfortunately, too often each year, our words are forgotten as quickly as they are spoken. Rarely is it possible to take some kind of constructive action which will live on after the well-meaning words have long since died away.

Thirty-nine of my colleagues have joined me in sponsoring a resolution (H. Con. Res. 385), expressing the sense of Congress that the Holy Crown of St. Stephen—Hungary's national treasure and symbol of constitutional government—should remain in the safekeeping of the United States until such time as Hungary once again functions as a constitutional government established through the free choice of the Hungarian people.

Similarly, Mr. Chairman, this legislation before us today again gives the Members of this body another opportunity to act, rather than merely to speak. The hopes of these peoples, and the hopes of their brothers and sisters in this country, are dependent upon the continuance of such activities as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. I urge my colleagues to approve this legislation with dispatch.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAILLIARD. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, there is one point that I think is extremely important, which should be considered by the committee, and which is referred to in the report, and that is the importance of maintaining the morale of the many devoted people who are working for these agencies.

I myself feel that it would be helpful for us to emphasize the fact that many, if not most of us, believe strongly in the objectives and workings of these agencies and that this report and this action is not in any way meant to prejudice that there will be a termination of these activities.

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Chairman, I would agree with the gentleman.

(Mr. MONAGAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I support this legislation to provide assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for a period of 2 fiscal years and to authorize the formation of a commission to study the problem of the continuation and support of these two related activities.

The revelation of past governmental support of these broadcasting facilities has raised this problem and obviously it must be settled. I believe that much helpful work is done by these two organizations in news reporting, in commentary upon international happenings and in explanation of the workings of our society. It is interesting to note that the Germans are about to construct a station that will be more expensive by far than

the facilities which we are discussing and the Chinese also have plans for a very substantial facility.

The main justification for the continuance of this function is the gradual education of people behind the Iron Curtain in the ways of democracy and the provision for them of a balanced appraisal of the happenings in this country and throughout the world.

I know from experience the avidity with which people in the socialist countries look for dispassionate news sources and we provide them with a notable service in bringing unadulterated news and commentary to them. In addition, in this way we furnish the basis for the eventual return of representative government to these countries while giving proportion to the distorted picture of the United States which they might otherwise derive from the information agencies available to them. This bill will also provide a commission to make a very necessary long-range study of this whole problem and with directions that a response be made to the Congress in time to determine what the future policy of our Government will be in this regard. I support this bill and hope that it will be adopted.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAILLIARD. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I arise to say I feel very strongly that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty make sense. I would guess that any evaluation of their functions would come to that same conclusion. This is not arguing against the advisability of setting up a commission. I certainly would have no reason to suggest that a commission is not necessary.

I think it is important that we continue these activities. This legislation, for that reason, is important, because it does provide authority for the financing for a 2-year period of both these Radios.

I would like also to point out, because there is sometimes confusion, the different roles played by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. The Voice of America, as its name implies, basically is interested in and concentrates on reporting on the American scene and the American way of life. In contrast, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are in effect national voices of the geographical areas to which they send their broadcasts. They analyze and they organize news from certain countries, and report to them in the same way that an independent radio station would if their governments had such programs.

We need to keep the distinction between the two types in mind, and we need also to recognize that both have their place.

Our committee discussed the possibility of the Voice of America taking over the activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Although we should not prejudice, or predict, what the commission may decide, I hope that a merger will not be recommended by the commission, as the responsibilities are quite different.

(Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MAILLIARD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

(Mr. BROOMFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY AS SEEN BY DIPLOMATS AND SCHOLARS

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Chairman, in looking at the radios, their aims, their methods and their impact, we should consider not only the views of the administration but also the views of independent observers who are able to make meaningful judgments about their work. We need to hear the words of disinterested and expert scholars and journalists throughout Western Europe and the United States. We need to examine the thinking of former Ambassadors who were stationed in the countries concerned and the statements of people who have recently come from those countries and who were dependent for their knowledge on what they heard over those radios.

In the committee hearings, testimony was given by the Honorable U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary of State, based on his experience as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. The record also includes impressive, firsthand testimony by three recent emigres from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, and from two of our former Ambassadors to the Soviet Union and Poland, respectively, Foy Kohler and John Gronouski. The record also includes statements by Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University and by a spokesman for the Polish-American Congress.

All of those witnesses strongly supported the continuation of the work of the radios. They were reflective of the serious concern in the academic and political worlds that this valuable service might be coming to an end. However, these statements were by no means the only ones being made publicly. For example, Dr. Hugh Seton-Watson, the distinguished professor of Russian history at London University and one of the most knowledgeable scholars on Eastern European affairs in the Western World, wrote to the London Daily Telegraph, in part, as follows:

For the great majority of the people in the censor-ridden Communist world, broadcasting is the only means the West has of conducting a dialogue with them. . . . I know from long personal experience that both the Europeans and the Americans responsible for running Radio Free Europe are extremely well informed, balanced in their judgments and in no sense fanatical crusaders. On the contrary, they are people who have been working for years to bring about true understanding.

One might question whether these Western opinions were valid if they were not echoed even more strongly from the East. A recent emigre, Mr. Henryk Birecki, wrote a letter to the Washington Star a short time ago in which he outlined his own background as a Communist official in charge of the Department

STATINTL

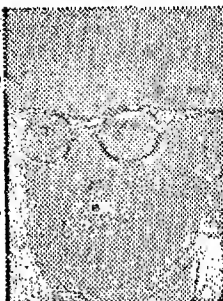


By ROBIN ADAMS SLOAN



**Q.** Is there any chance Cardinal Mindszenty might visit us here in America after all his years of asylum in the U.S. Embassy in Budapest? Many people of Hungarian descent would be thrilled to see him.—D. F., New York.

**A.** The cardinal, once Jozsef Pehm, who changed his name to a more Hungarian one after he became an archbishop, will probably not visit the U.S. Promptly on his arrival in Rome he loosed a blast at his hosts of 15 years, blaming our CIA and Voice of America broadcasts for sucking Hungarians into the armed uprising which the Russians crushed in 1956. Since CIA-financed propaganda is currently a ticklish question just before the upcoming Munich Olympic Games and the presidential election next year, the Vatican, in a gesture of friendship to the U.S., sent the cardinal off for safekeeping to a Viennese seminary. For the moment he is effectively muzzled.



STATINTL

# HIDING BILLIONS FROM CONGRESS

LOUIS FISHER

Mr. Fisher is the author of *President and Congress: Power and Policy*, to be published by the Free Press in January.

According to the Budget and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950, it is the policy of Congress that the accounting of the government provide "full disclosure of the results of financial operations, adequate financial information needed in the management of operations and the formulation and execution of the Budget, and effective control over income, expenditures, funds, property, and other assets." Despite that general policy, it has been estimated that, in a budget for fiscal 1972 of \$229.2 billion, secret funds may amount to \$15 billion to \$20 billion.

The financing of the war in Vietnam illustrates how billions can be spent for programs known to relatively few Congressmen. In September 1966, President Johnson expressed his "deep admiration as well as that of the American people for the action recently taken by the Philippines to send a civic action group of 2,000 men to assist the Vietnamese in resisting aggression and rebuilding their country." Other announcements from the White House created the impression that not only the Philippines but Thailand, South Korea, and other members of the "Free World Forces" had volunteered troops.

However, hearings held by the Symington subcommittee in 1969 and 1970 revealed that the United States had offered sizable subsidies to countries that involved themselves in Vietnam. It was learned that the Philippines had received river patrol craft, engineering equipment, a special overseas allowance for its soldiers sent to Vietnam, and additional equipment to strengthen Filipino forces at home. It cost the United States \$38.8 million to send one Filipino construction battalion to Vietnam. Senator Fulbright said that as he saw it, "all we did was go over and hire their soldiers in order to support our then administration's view that so many people were in sympathy with our war in Vietnam."

The Philippine Government denied that U.S. contributions represented a subsidy or a fee in return for the sending of the construction battalion, but an investigation

Mr. Fisher's article is the second of three which *The Nation* is running this fall on the elusive ways whereby accounts are kept, and expenses budgeted, by the federal government. "Military Budget: Double-Talk Bookkeeping" by Richard F. Kaufman appeared in the issue of November 1; an article by Sen. Frank Church on the executive's power to impound funds authorized by the Congress will be published soon.

Philippines in exchange for its commitment of a battalion to Vietnam.

The Symington subcommittee also uncovered an agreement that the Johnson administration had made with the Royal Thai Government, back in 1967, to cover any additional costs connected with the sending of Thai soldiers to Vietnam. The State Department estimated that U.S. support to Thai forces—including payment of overseas allowances—came to approximately \$200 million. A number of other expenses were also involved, such as modernization of Thai forces and the development of an anti-aircraft Hawk battery in Thailand. The Foreign Ministry of Thailand denied that the United States had offered payments to induce Thailand to send armed forces to Vietnam, but GAO investigators revealed that U.S. funds had been used for such purposes as the training of Thai troops, payment of overseas allowances, and payment of separation bonuses to Thai soldiers who had served in Vietnam. An interim GAO report estimated that the U.S. Government had invested "probably more than \$260 million in equipment, allowances, subsistence, construction, military sales concessions, and other support to the Thais for their contribution under the Free World Military Assistance program to Vietnam."

U.S. subsidies were used once again to facilitate the sending of South Korean forces to Vietnam. Assistance included equipment to modernize Korean forces at home, equipment and all additional costs to cover the deployment of Korean troops in Vietnam, additional loans from the Agency for International Development, and increased ammunition and communications facilities in Korea. To assure that the dispatch of men to Vietnam would not weaken the defensive capabilities of the Republic of Korea, the Johnson administration agreed to finance the training of forces to replace those deployed in Vietnam and to improve South Korea's anti-infiltration capability. From fiscal 1965 to fiscal 1970, Korea's military presence in Vietnam was estimated to have cost the United States \$927.5 million.

The legal basis for this assistance to free world forces in Vietnam derives from authorization and appropriation statutes of 1966. Funds were made available to support Vietnamese "and other free world forces in Vietnam, and related costs . . . on such terms and conditions as the Secretary of Defense may determine." In 1967 assistance was broadened to include local forces in Laos and Thailand. Reports on such expenditures were submitted only to the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees of each house. One would not know from the general language of the statutes what type of financial arrangement the Administration might enter into, or with what country. Even staff people who had access to the reports said that they did not know the nature and dimension of financing the free world forces until hearings were held by the Symington subcommittee.

Legislation in 1969 and 1970 tightened up the language of the statutes somewhat by placing a ceiling on the funds that could be given to free world forces. The ceilings were also established for payments of overseas allowances. The

by the General Accounting Office confirmed that "quid pro quo" assistance had indeed been given. Moreover, there was evidence that the Johnson administration had increased other forms of military and economic aid to the



18 OCT 1971

## Reds Step Up Propaganda Broadcasts

MUNICH — "The war has always been waged for the sake of American objectives. The supreme goal: Genocide." "Washington's Eastern policies are being repressed by outmoded and dangerous dogmas of hostility and aggression."

Every 24 hours, thousands of propaganda attacks like these go out over the Communist world's radio stations, directed at dozens of nations in dozens of languages.

During the last four years, the war in the airwaves has been stepped up. Radio Moscow has increased its total broadcasting from 291 to 332 hours a day. Radio Peking's increase is from 136 to 179 hours daily.

### Indication of Trends

Radio Free Europe, the U.S. station here that broadcasts to the Soviet bloc and monitors transmissions from the bloc and other Communist countries, considers the increase an indication of several trends:

—The increasing political commitment of Moscow and Peking in other parts of the world that can easily be reached by their shortwave broadcasts.

"As in the past," an RFE broadcast survey noted, "broadcasts to less stable areas have been increased at the expense of those directed to more quiescent countries."

It said that Europe's share of the increase was 3% while Africa's and Asia's was 25%.

### Sino-Soviet Dispute

—The struggle for support in the Sino-Soviet dispute and political troubles within the bloc. Romania, which is tending more toward support of China, has had its broadcasts from Moscow quadrupled in the last four years. Czech and Slovak broadcasts have been tripled; Albanian and Serbo-Croat increased 30%.

Moscow now transmits more than 15 hours daily in Chinese dialects. Peking replies with a round-the-clock service in the languages of the Soviet Union.

Although much of the propaganda of the two communist powers is directed against each other, most of it concentrates on attacking the United States and West Germany, which are depicted as partners in the imperialist fight against all that is progressive.

### 'Slipping Back'

The general line of late, RFE analysts said, has been that the United States is "slipping back into a cold-war stance."

Among the examples of polemics from the thousands of hours of monitoring—RFE says that 300 miles of tape would be needed to record the daily Communist output—are these:

"American authorities aid the activity of Zionist terrorists." — Radio Moscow.

"A wave of real racism has risen in the U.S. . . . Angela Davis, a fighter for the rights of oppressed Negroes, is in prison, while a mass murderer (Lt. Calley) has been released." — Radio Prague.

"Do politicians in Bonn really think West Germany will live more in peace with its neighbors when it menaces them?" — Radio Moscow.

12 OCT 1971

## A reader writes

## Radio Free Europe

To The Christian Science Monitor:

We have heard with dismay of the unwarranted criticism of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and even of attempts to close down the two stations.

We left Poland in 1968, and came to England. We are two of the more fortunate of those who opposed the present Polish regime.

Nina Karsov was put on trial and imprisoned for so-called antistate activities, and a full account of these events is given in our book "In the name of tomorrow," to be published shortly in America.

Radio Free Europe played a vital part in securing her release because of its unique opportunity to publicize the trial in Poland. (And this was only one case among many such.) This publicity prevented the regime from keeping the public in ignorance of its activities in suppressing freedom of thought and speech in such cases. . . .

To close these two stations and to replace them with any government-sponsored broadcasts would be an irreparable loss for all of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

London Nina Karsov  
Szymon Szechter

E - 81,373  
S - 96,388

# Fullbright tightens the reins on

## Radio Free Europe

By WILLIAM GEIST

Special to the Democrat

WASHINGTON -- Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., and his allies on the Foreign Relations Committee have thwarted the Nixon administration's attempt to continue open-ended funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Fulbright opposes the existence of the two stations, calling them "remnants of the Cold War," and charges them with intensifying hostilities between the United States and the Communist countries.

"The function of these stations," Fulbright says, "is beginning to appear to be contrary to the President's own policy of trying to reconcile and relax tensions in Russia and Eastern Europe."

The administration was first defeated when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted down a bill that would have allowed the stations to skirt legislative review and go directly to the Appropriations Committee with an automatic authorization of funds.

The administration then presented its bill to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which also rejected it. According to an administration source, the unyielding opposition of Fulbright's forces in the Senate guided the House in defeating it.

The matter of funding Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty arose in January when Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., revealed that for 20 years the stations had been operating on covert funding provided by the Central Intelligence Agency, although both the stations and the government maintained they were privately owned

and operating solely on private contributions.

Case, a member of Fulbright's Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a bill calling for congressional funding for the stations.

While refusing to accept arguments that the radio stations should not be funded by the CIA or admit openly that any such relationship existed, the administration quickly offered the counterproposal that was defeated by both the Senate and the House.

Under the administration proposal, the radio stations would be controlled by a single, nonprofit, private corporation, which was to receive an open-ended funding authorization without legislative review. Funds would still have to be appropriated by Congress. No government agency was specified to oversee the stations.

The corporation, which was to be called the American Council for Private International Communications, Inc., was to have an 11-man board of directors appointed by the President.

After rejecting this bill, the Case bill was approved by the Senate on Aug. 2. It named the State Department as the primary recipient of the \$35 million appropriation, which was authorized for one year only.

Fulbright's committee then authorized two separate studies of the effects of the stations and their operations, with an eye to altering the stations substantially or blocking their operations altogether.

Although the Senate studies are already under way, the

House Foreign Affairs Committee has altered the Senate of a compromise between the Senate bill and the administration proposal. The House version of the bill, approved in the Foreign Affairs Committee by a vote of 23-1, is expected to be approved by the House this month.

The House changes authorize funds for two years, rather than one, to be administered through an eleven man "private" commission. All members of the commission would not, however, be appointees of the president. The commission would study the effects and operation of the stations while operating them.

During congressional hearings on the various bills to stop the covert CIA funding, Fulbright and others so viciously attacked the operation and effects of the stations that not only was the funding altered, but the study commissions were set up and now the very future of the stations is in doubt.

"These studies are important and their conclusions will be acted on," says Robert Dockery, staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "The committee clearly looked on the \$35-million authorization as stop-gap legislation, and the conclusions of these studies will help determine how much, if any, is authorized next year."

Albert C. F. Westphal, staff member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, says the intent of the House bill is the same as that of the Senate and adds: "We are making no assumptions as to what will happen after the two years of

study. The continued operation of the two stations, and the form of that operation, depends on the findings."

Provided the House committee version is adopted on the floor of the House as expected, a conference will take place between Fulbright's Senate forces and House members to iron out differences between the two versions.

Dockery says it is quite possible Fulbright will remain adamant and be unwilling to yield to House proposals.

"The real rub," says Dockery, "will be that Fulbright has already asked for an investigation and will no doubt question why other investigations, such as those proposed by the House, are necessary. Also, the Senate is of a mind not to give these stations operating funds for more than one year."

At this point, no one is guessing what the outcome will be. Whatever the final form of the bill, the stations will receive only short-term operating funds while in-depth studies are made.

"There is an additional possibility," says Westphal, "which may sound extreme. The two houses may not resolve their differences and the stations might just die out from lack of funds. I'm inclined to think this won't happen, but I've been around long enough to know that it well might."

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO  
NEWS

E - 29,826

OCT 6 1971

## Sabotage

Despite all Sen. William Fulbright's talk of principle, he has few qualms in playing his own ends-justifies-the-means games, sabotaging some sound American policies to get revenge for other policies he disagrees with.

Several years ago Sen. Fulbright joined the wolves attacking America's foreign aid program, though he had been a proponent of the aid principle. Sen. Fulbright did it because he didn't like U.S. involvement in Vietnam which had nothing to do with the aid programs he was helping dismantle.

Now Sen. Fulbright has held up congressional funding for Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. These broadcast efforts previously have been supported in part by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The fact is that the broadcasts in Eastern Europe have been enormously effective in providing something of a substitute free press behind the Iron Curtain. Its effectiveness is largely due to its frank reporting of problems in the United States. Its audience is enormous.

Since the CIA support had been revealed, however, Sen. Fulbright has held up independent funding by Congress, continuing his grump against the Vietnam war.

In time, Sen. Fulbright's actions will be publicly accepted as silly. But for the United States, this could be a destructive learning process.

1 OCT 1971

STATINTL

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R00110

OWHAT IS HAPPENING IN RED CHINA? Nobody knows (and the "people" will be the last to find out). Our State Department thinks intercepted "war warning" from Peking to its embassies is evidence of political infighting at home. Opinion among experts varies: everything from a return to "Warlordism" -- with several provincial bosses breaking with Mao -- to a showdown with Moscow. Quick U.S. press reports of secret Red warnings has certainly tipped off Communists that our National Security Agency has broken one or more of their top-level codes, so a continued news blackout is probable.

OBRTISH STAY TOUGH IN SPY SCANDAL: Hard-line anti-Communists are cheered by British Prime Minister Heath's tough line with Soviet Union regarding 105 Russian diplomats and commercial reps linked to espionage. Soviet Intelligence has suffered a major disaster, probably bigger than earlier defections of Igor Gouzenko (a code clerk in Canada) and Vladimir Petrov (a KGB *resident* in Australia). Cover story is defector was deputy KGB official in Britain. More likely, Soviet agent was high level KGB officer who de-camped at Paris air show two months ago amid confusing stories of his whereabouts. Britain was only one country he knew about: most NATO members will now undergo thorough housecleaning of Russian "legals" in country. Spy cleanup is expected to spread across Atlantic. There are indications the defector had connection to mid-1960 case of Col. Oleg Penkovskiy. There are other signs additional KGB agents have been "turned."

OPHILBY SURFACES AGAIN: Kim Philby, for many years a top British intelligence official, surfaced again, giving an interview to a Czechoslovak Communist newspaper. Philby was a Soviet spy for more than 20 years while quietly gaining influence in British intelligence, then defected to Moscow a decade ago as security men closed in. Philby is currently believed advising Soviet intelligence, and his remarks are scanned for hints at current Soviet targets. The interview, distributed by the Czech press service, recounts Philby's heroic (from Kremlin view) betrayal of joint U.S.-British operation to liberate Albania in 1950. His major thrust is against CIA, accusing it of running radio stations, newspapers, publishing houses, and Radio Free Europe (which indeed has been funded by CIA). Czech writer compares Philby: he "ranks in the famous gallery of Soviet intelligence agents -- Richard Sorge, Colonel Abel, Gordon Lonsdale, Nikolay Kuznetsov, and others." Interview also touts new Philby book, which Czechs are getting out for Soviets. Observers think purpose of Philby interview was to build up Soviet intelligence reputation *vis a vis* British disclosures of massive spying.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

OCT 1971  
AGAINST MISINFORMATION AND SLANDER

STATINTL

## US RADIO: PROPAGANDA AND ESPIONAGE

A. KURCHATOV

THE REPORT of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th CPSU Congress says: "We are living under conditions of unabating ideological struggle, which imperialist propaganda is waging against our country, against the world of socialism, using the most subtle methods and powerful technical means."

Broadcasting is an important channel in the imperialist, above all US, propaganda machine which churns out anti-communist propaganda for export. Since the war, radiostations like the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe have been a major foreign policy instrument, notably, in the "psychological warfare" of US imperialism against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

The USA's psychological warfare against the countries of the socialist community and the anti-imperialist forces is an important line of imperialist strategy in the contest between the two world systems. Imperialist politicians regard it as a form of struggle, alongside military blocs and the arms drive, against the triumphant advance of communist ideas and the mounting anti-imperialist feelings throughout the world, a form of ideological conditioning for fresh anti-socialist crusades.

At the same time, the special attention devoted to psychological warfare in the political centres of imperialism is convincing evidence of the decline of imperialism's ideological and political positions.

The steady advance of socialism, and the growing content and forms of the anti-imperialist struggle have given rise to enormous world-wide interest in the theory and practice of socialist construction and communist ideology.

That is why bourgeois propaganda has been doing its best to reduce the influence and attractive force of the socialist countries, debase communist ideals, and undermine the impact of socialism on world history. Radio broadcasting has had an important part to play in such propaganda, with US radio centres outside the

country often being used as a cover for anti-socialist espionage carried on by US intelligence agencies.

## ANTI-COMMUNIST RADIOFRONT

DEPENDING on their tasks and place in the US state apparatus, US foreign service stations are designated as white, grey and black. A Department of the Army manual, entitled *Psychological Warfare Operations*, explains: "White propaganda which is disseminated and acknowledged by the sponsor or an accredited agency thereof. Grey propaganda which does not specifically identify any source. Black propaganda purposes to emanate from a source other than the true one." Government radiostations are classified as white and work on the simple principle of a distorting mirror: they misinform their listeners not by means of barefaced lying, but rather by distorting the picture of life, above all in the socialist countries.

Psychological warfare specialist H. Boring points out that grey and black propaganda have the advantage of irresponsibility and can broadcast scandals and rumours without discredit to the government.<sup>2</sup> Propaganda conducted on behalf of "private" organisations includes political defamation, provocations and other methods of subversion, without giving its opponents any formal pretext to pin the responsibility on the US Administration.

But it is the Voice of America, a government outfit, which sets the tone in the psychological warfare against the socialist countries. Established nearly 30 years ago, in February 1942, it now has 104 short and medium-wave transmitters in the USA and abroad. Its main studios and master recording stations with a staff of 1,500 are located in Washington. Another 1,000 are employed at monitoring centres abroad.

<sup>1</sup> *Psychological Warfare Operations*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Boring, *Psychology for the Armed Services*, Washington, 1945, p. 493.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001

MT. CLEMENS, MICH.  
MACOMB DAILY

E - 77,859

SEP 28 1971

## U.S. Still Funds Radio Free Europe

By ESTHER AN TAYLOR FIFTY

Our Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — This is a confession. For years I have been proclaiming unwittingly that Radio Free Europe, which does a remarkable job of broadcasting news of the Free World to the Communist-controlled countries of East Europe, was financed by the American people, not the U.S. government.

This is not true. The truth came out when the government revealed the secret Central Intelligence Agency funding by requesting funds from Congress to continue the broadcasts openly supported by the government.

Now the Senate has passed a bill providing \$53 million to fund both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beams its news into the Soviet Union.

LIKE OTHER MEMBERS of Congress, Congressman William Brconfield (R-Mich.), on the House Foreign Affairs Committee was "stunned" that for 20 years both radio stations had been operating on covert funding provided by the CIA, although both the stations and U.S. government maintained they were

privately owned corporations operating solely through contributed money.

Radio Free Europe has a people-to-people approach supposedly in contrast to the Voice of America, which broadcasts worldwide in 26 languages with 40 per cent of air time beamed to Communist-governed countries. The Voice of America is recognized as government propaganda through the United States Information Agency.

A reporter is supposed to be a trained observer. Yet, by invitation, I went on two inspection trips of Radio Free Europe and didn't catch on. Perhaps I was too intrigued with the imagination which went into creating this battle for men's minds.

The RFE headquarters in Munich, Germany, is the most unusual newsroom where news was gathered for broadcast to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, to be broadcast in the native tongue of each region about 18 hours a day.

Then I saw the giant transmitters, not far from Lisbon, Portugal. The signal is strong enough to reach the five East European countries.

IT WAS EASY to imagine a man

in Budapest turning on his radio at the hour when the RFE broadcast brought him not only news from the Free World but often local news suppressed by the Communist leaders.

If the Russians jammed that frequency, he could switch to five or six others, so strong is the signal from those powerful transmitters.

I even did a broadcast for Radio Free Europe at a certain spot on the Czechoslovakia-West Germany border.

I mentioned the contributions made by the American people rather than by the government.

Although the new legislation reveals the involvement of the CIA in the financing Radio Free Europe, the news caused hardly a stir in the United States.

But the significance was not lost on the Soviet Union. In the Communist party newspaper, Pravda, the action in Congress was discussed. Pravda said the United States was at last admitting it supported the anti-Communist radio stations which had for two decades been devoted to undermining the Soviet system.

The State department has made no response.

28 SEP 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0

# Letters to the Editor

## Radio Free Europe

SIR: In the recent debate in the United States Senate over the future and status of Radio Free Europe Senator Fulbright expressed the view that the United States should close down this radio and expand cultural exchanges instead.

These two activities are ultimately serving the same goal in entirely different ways; they should never be contrasted.

I was head of the Department of Cultural Exchanges in the Polish Foreign Office from 1960 to 1963. From the other side of the negotiating table I could see how hard and often without success the American diplomats had to fight for each award of a scholarship (including scholarships under Fulbright's bill) or permission for an American ensemble to visit Poland. It must be remembered that, of necessity, cultural exchanges may embrace only a limited number of people and are subject to control, consent and restrictions of the respective government which may discontinue them at will when they cease to serve its own interests. Foreign broadcasts are the only line of direct communication with millions of people in the Soviet bloc countries which is entirely independent of censorship and influence of the authorities.

As member of the collective leadership in the Polish Foreign Office and a close associate of the late Adam Rapacki, minister of foreign affairs and a Politburo member, I had an opportunity to observe from inside the impact of Radio Free Europe on the ruling elite. I can state that literally everybody in this inner circle of power, including Gomulka himself, was assiduously following Radio Free Europe broadcasts. Ministers used to start their working day by reading monitoring bulletins of RFE broadcasts. My own habit became so deeply rooted that when I became an exile in 1963, I sold some of my few remaining valuables to buy a good radio set in order to listen in on Radio Free Europe. Even abroad only from this radio station could I learn what was going on in my country.

Few people in the West realize how anxious the rulers in the totalitarian system are to learn the authentic views of the opposition whose freedom of expression they themselves have suppressed. To some extent Radio Free Europe has become the voice of the silent opposition. It plays this role in a responsible, sometimes even overcautious, manner. RFE news and commentaries are topics of daily discussions at all levels including the members of Central Committee of the Communist Party and the governmental offices. Communist leaders who have become prisoners of their own monopoly of information need this radio for their own private enlightenment, but at the same time fear its impact on others.

It is this deep concern over the growing influence of Radio Free Europe, not merely on the population but above all on the Communist Party itself, that has finally prevailed. A few months before Rapacki and I left the foreign office, decisions were taken at the top level in Warsaw to use all available diplomatic as well as secret channels to bring about the closure of Radio Free Europe. Considerable resources were earmarked for this purpose and plans for this operation were already made three years ago with Washington and Bonn as the main targets of the diplomatic pressure.

The day when this goal will have been achieved will be a dark one for all these members of the Communist establishment who, like myself, have never lost hope that the system may become more humane and tolerant. They will lose a powerful ally.

Antony, France.

Henryk Birecki.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3



STATINTL

## RECORD OF '68 DISCUSSION

## The CIA Has 'Cover' Problems, Too

By JAMES DOYLE

Star Staff Writer

Early in 1968 a group including former officials of the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department settled down after dinner at the Harold Pratt House, on New York's Avenue, to discuss some of the CIA's problems.

A record of their conversation shows that the particular concern of the group that night was how to provide a deeper cover for Americans gathering information by using non-governmental organizations as fronts.

The participants were members and guests of the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, men who seem to direct foreign policy from within and without the government on a permanent basis, and publishers of "Foreign Affairs," the quarterly bible of American diplomacy.

A record of the discussion at the council's headquarters on that evening, Jan. 8, 1968, has been circulated to some newspapers by a group of self-styled radical scholars based in Cambridge.

It portrays with some new details the structure and the style of the American intelligence community. The document is timely in the wake of events last week in London, where 103 members of the Soviet community there, including employees from the Soviet embassy, trade delegation, tourist agency, Moscow Narodny Bank and Aeroflot Airline were uncovered as espionage agents, and banned from the country without replacements.

It was a fear of just such an incident, apparently, that dominated the conversation at Pratt House that night.

The U.S. "employees" whose cover constantly is endangered, the participants felt, are those who work in the American Embassies, trade delegations, and other U.S. agencies in countries around the world.

Richard Bissell, a former deputy director of the CIA who left the agency after the Bay of Pigs debacle, led the discussion. According to the record made available to The Star, he told his council colleagues that CIA

agents "need to operate under deeper cover."

Bissell recounted ruefully the uproar over the CIA's exposed funding of the National Student Association's overseas activities and said, "The CIA interface with various private groups, including business and student groups, must be remedied."

He noted that the problems of American spies overseas "is frequently a problem of the State Department."

"It tends to be true that local allies find themselves dealing always with an American and an official American—since the cover is almost invariably as a U.S. government employee," Bissell is reported to have said.

"There are powerful reasons for this practice, and it will always be desirable to have some CIA personnel housed in the embassy compound, if only for local 'command post' and communications requirements.

"Nonetheless, it is possible and desirable, although difficult and time-consuming, to build overseas an apparatus of unofficial cover," Bissell is quoted as saying.

"This would require the use or creation of private organizations, many of the personnel of which would be non-U.S. nationals, with freer entry into the local society and less implication for the official U.S. posture."

## Use Non-Americans

Bissell said that the United States needed to increase its use of non-Americans for espionage "with an effort at indoctrination and training: they should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty, more or less comparable to that of the American staff."

He added that as intelligence efforts shifted more toward Latin America, Asia and Africa, "the conduct of U.S. nationals is likely to be increasingly circumscribed. The primary change recommended would be to build up a system of unofficial cover. . . . The CIA might be able to make use of non-nationals as 'career agents', that is with a status midway between that for the classical agent used in a

and that of a staff member involved through his career in many operations, and well informed of the agency's capabilities."

An unidentified former State Department official responded to Bissell that he agreed with the need to change covers, noting that "the initial agreement between the agency and State was intended to be 'temporary', but nothing endures like the ephemeral."

Another participant noted that very little attention was paid to revelations of the CIA's use of supposedly independent operations such as "Radio Free Europe," he added, "One might conclude that the public is not likely to be concerned by the penetration of overseas institutions, at least not nearly so much as by the penetration of U.S. institutions."

This participant was quoted as saying, "The public doesn't think it's right; they don't know where it ends; they take a look at their neighbors." Then he asked whether "this suggested expansion in use of private institutions should include those in the United States, or U.S. institutions operating overseas?"

In response, clear distinctions were reportedly made between operating in the United States and abroad, and the suggestion was made by Bissell, "One might want CIA to expand its use of private U.S. corporations, but for objectives outside the United States."

## Fund Demands Rise

The record of the discussion did not link comment and author, but did give a general identification of the men present. There also was a diligent removal from the authorized reporter's transcript of all specific references of agents, incidents and the like, with one noticeable lapse.

In a discussion of the effect of revelations that the CIA was financing U.S. labor union activities abroad, it was noted that these disclosures had simply increased the demand for such funds from overseas labor groups.

"were supported through CIA conduits, but now they ask for more assistance than before. So, our expectations to the contrary, there has been no damage."

Those present and taking part in the discussion included men who have journeyed back and forth between government and corporate work, most of whom have remained near the center of the foreign policy establishment.

They included Bissell, now an executive with United Aircraft Corp. in Hartford, Conn.; former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon; former CIA director Allen Dulles; Robert Amory Jr., a former deputy director of the CIA; Meyer Bernstein, director of international affairs for the United Steelworkers of America; columnist Joseph Kraft; former White House aide Theodore Sorensen of Kennedy and Johnson days; and Philip Quigg, recently resigned as managing editor of Foreign Affairs.

Facsimile copies of the discussion summary have been circulated by "The Africa Research Group," a dozen young scholars in Cambridge who take a radical dissenting view of U.S. foreign policy.

Reached at his home, Bissell confirmed the authenticity of the document.

He noted that in the discussion that night in New York, he had begun by saying that agent espionage was the least valuable of three main CIA missions, behind reconnaissance and electronic intelligence, the two areas where most CIA money is spent.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016  
ST. LOUIS, MO.  
POST-DISPATCH

STATINTL

E - 326,376  
S - 541,868

SEP 26 1971

# Confidential Report Urges More Secrecy In CIA Spying

By RICHARD DUDMAN  
Chief Washington  
Correspondent of the  
Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25.— A confidential report being circulated in Washington and Boston urges that the Central Intelligence Agency improve its secrecy in penetrating private institutions at home and abroad.

The document proposes also that the CIA direct its covert operations particularly at Africa, Asia and Latin America and make wide use of agents other than Americans.

The report is a summary of a panel discussion on intelligence and foreign policy conducted by the Council on Foreign Relations in New York Jan. 8, 1968.

Copies of the document are being circulated in this country and Europe by a group of radical scholars in Cambridge, Mass., as "a still-relevant primer on the theory and practice of the Central Intelligence Agency" and "a fair warning as to the direction of the agency's interests and efforts."

Leader of the 1968 discussion was Richard M. Bissell Jr., a former CIA deputy director who was in charge of the U-2 spy plane program in the late 1950s and the abortive invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. He left the Government in 1962 and is a vice president at United Aircraft Corp.

Others in the group were the late Allen W. Dulles, who had been the CIA director; Robert Amory Jr., who had been the deputy CIA director for intelligence; Thomas L. Hughes, then director of intelligence and research at the Department of State and now president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Meyer Bernstein, director of international affairs for the United Steel Workers.

mer Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon was chairman.

The document, reporting Bissell's review and appraisal of the CIA's covert operations, said: "If the agency is to be effective, it will have to make use of private institutions on an expanding scale, though those relations which have 'blown' cannot be resurrected.

"We need to operate under deeper cover, with increased attention to the use of 'cut-outs.' CIA's interface with the rest of the world needs to be better protected."

Bissell's presentation, as reported in the summary, referred frequently to exposes in the previous year of the CIA's penetration and financing of the National Student Association and other private organizations, including trade union organizations overseas.

"If various groups hadn't been aware of the source of their funding, the damage subsequent to disclosure might have been far less than occurred," the summary said.

"The CIA interface with various private groups, including business and student groups, must be remedied."

Other documents, obtained in early 1968 by the Post-Dispatch, showed that the U.S. Agency for International Development had picked up the tab for certain overseas programs that had been financed secretly by the CIA. These became known as "CIA orphans" after the secret financing was disclosed.

The change apparently grew out of a 1967 order by President Lyndon B. Johnson prohibiting any further hidden subsidies to private voluntary organizations. He promised to consider a proposal that the Federal Government establish "a public-private mechanism to provide public funds openly for overseas activities of organizations which are adjudged deserving, in the national interest."

As a result, AID funds have been used to finance in part certain international labor programs handled through the AFL-CIO.

One member of the 1968 panel, not identified but apparently Bernstein, the Steelworkers' officer, was quoted as saying that it was common knowledge even before the exposes of 1967 that there had been labor programs.

Persons in international labor affairs were dismayed, he said, over public disclosure of this CIA support. He said that "certain newspapersmen compounded their difficulties by confusing AID with CIA."

The summary continued, quoting the same speaker: "Since these disclosures, the turn of events has been unexpected. First, there hasn't been any real trouble with international labor programs. Indeed, there has been an increase in demand for U.S. labor programs and the strain on our capacity has been embarrassing. Formerly these common labor unions knew we were short of funds, but now they all assume we have secret CIA money, and they ask for more help."

Citing labor union in British Guiana as an example, he said they were "supported through CIA conduits, but now they ask for more assistance than before."

In the summary of Bissell's presentation, the report said the United States should make increasing use persons other than American citizens who "should be encouraged to develop a second loyalty, more or less comparable to that of the American staff."

"The desirability of more effective use of foreign nationals increases as we shift our attention to Latin America, Asia and Africa, where the conduct of United States nationals is easily subject to scrutiny and is likely to be interpreted as 'contributed,' the summary

said.

Bissell was reported to have suggested that the CIA could use foreign nationals increasingly as "career agents," with a status midway between a classical agent in a single operation and that of a staff member involved through his career in many operations.

At another point, the account of Bissell's presentation asked the question "From whom is a covert operation to be kept secret?"

"After five days, for example, the U-2 flights were not secret from the Russians, but these operations remained highly secret in the United States and with good reason," the summary said.

"If these overflights had 'leaked' to the American press, the USSR would have been forced to take action.

"On a less severe level, the same problem applies to satellite reconnaissance. These are examples of two hostile governments collaborating to keep operations secret from the general public of both sides. Unfortunately, there aren't enough of these situations."

Returning to covert financing of private organizations overseas, Bissell said that such pro-

continued

JACKSON, MISS.

NEWS

SEP 24 1971

E - 46,751

## Still a burning question:

## whose side is Fulbright on

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcast free world news to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that the Communist regimes invariably censor. They transmit the news which the Communist regimes fail to fit into their political philosophies.

Soviet Russia and its satellites have been condemning Radio Free Europe since it started in 1950 and Radio Liberty since it began in 1951. These totalitarian regimes want exclusive control over what their people hear and think. The only legitimate news in their eyes is that which supports communism.

The dovish Senate Foreign Relations Committee has rejected an Administration request to transfer funding of radio stations from the CIA to a congressionally-chartered corporation. The committee's chairman, color-blind J. William Fulbright, has requested studies be made of these stations. This will take several months.

When they are finally ready, the studies are supposed to be used for determining whether to keep the stations operating. Sen. Fulbright, of course, views them as remnants of the Cold War that hinder the easing of tensions between Soviet officials and the United States.

The Arkansas senator does not see the easing of tensions as a two-way street. He is unwilling that truth be transmitted to the captive people lest it offend their captors in the Kremlin. On the other hand, Sen. Fulbright has never expressed concern over the transmission of Communist propaganda to the free world urging the overthrow of democratic regimes. He pretends the free world is solely responsible for international tensions.

We continue to wonder "whose side Sen. Fulbright is on."

16 Sept 1971

JOHN P. ROCHE

# They're Either Liars or Idiots

Suppose that down the block from you in a quiet, middle-class community there lived, say, an insurance agent. Not a vice president, not an executive; just an insurance agent.

And suppose that every year for 20 years he turned up with a brand new Mercedes limousine, a real monster.

Then one day, an investigator appeared at your door and asked: "Did you have any reason to believe that Mr. X had outside sources of revenue?"

THE NORMAL REACTION would be "Of course! Look at those cars." Not even the village idiot would be so naive as to say "Gosh, did he? How could we have known?" Keeping this in mind, let us turn to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

For 20 years Radio Free Europe has been broadcasting to the Communist nations of Eastern Europe in the appropriate languages. Currently it operates 18 hours a day and has 32 transmitters. Most of its facilities are in West Germany, though some are located in Spain.

Radio Liberty, on the other hand, specializes in broadcasts to the Soviet Union with 17 transmitters in Spain, West Germany and Taiwan. Its programs go out in all the major languages of Soviet minority groups. According to the Congressional Quarterly, that invaluable weekly compilation of useful information, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had a \$36.2 million combined budget for fiscal 1971.

IF FOR PURPOSES of discussion (exact data are unavailable) we project this budget backward for 20 years, we find that these stations may have cost more than \$700 million to operate. When anyone asked how the money was raised, he was told that various private groups and foundations in the United States provided it. The Communists, of course, said it was a clandestine U.S. intelligence operation, but they had no proof — and besides, they said that about Fulbright Fellowships, the Peace Corps, and even field trips by American anthropologists.

In general, it was agreed that the stations did a good and useful job, nobody (except the Communists) made any noise about their activities, and the Congress of the United States simply ignored the whole matter.

If you had gone to a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and asked him if he really believed that you could go out with a tin cup and raise \$36 million a year, he would doubtless have changed the subject. If you had gone on to inquire how a

private American broadcasting outfit could easily operate out of West Germany, Spain, and Taiwan, he would undoubtedly have rushed off to an appointment.

HOWEVER, in the last few years the climate has changed. Notably the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unilaterally declared the cold war to be over and exposes of intelligence operations have become a form of entertainment on the Hill. The "secret war in Laos," which newspapermen have been covering in detail for the last five years, became the sensation one month. And as part of the festive spirit Sen. Clifford Case announced to a shocked Senate that the C.I.A. had been funding Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty!

This singular revelation led to what is perhaps the most remarkable confession of incompetence ever to emerge from any Senate committee. The Foreign Relations Committee piously announced that it deplored "the fact that this financing — covering some 20 years — has been kept a secret from the American people and their elected representatives. It is indeed regrettable that . . . five administrations deceived the taxpayers. . . ."

The average taxpayer, however, is under the illusion that his elected representatives are not paid to be deceived by one administration, let alone five. Meditating on this sad tale of virginity betrayed, he is likely to reach the sensible conclusion that the senators involved are either liars or idiots. Either way, they have made a case for their own replacement.

BURLINGTON, VT.

FREE PRESS

SEP 16 1971

M - 43,479

## Congressman Pleads for Continuance Of Radio Station Beamed to Russia

Free Press

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — Listeners to the western-financed Radio Liberty were the only Russians who knew of ex-Premier Nikita Khrushchev's death before Monday morning, Rep. Robert H. Steele, R-Conn., said in a statement urging that the House pass a bill setting up a government-subsidized company to keep the station on the air.

Steele, a former CIA Russian expert, is a cosponsor of the bill which would also underwrite Radio Free Europe. Radio Liberty broadcasts in Russian to the Soviet Union, Radio Free Europe in several languages to Eastern Europe.

They have been financed semi-secretly by the CIA—but a campaign started by Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., is being waged to bring their subsidies out in the open and have Congress vote on them each year.

The unique value of Radio Liberty was proved again by the role it played in reporting Khrushchev's death, Steele said in a statement inserted this week

in the Congressional Record.

"Failure of Soviet news media to report the death . . . until many hours after it took place, gives us a timely reminder of the way in which Soviet citizens are systematically deprived of information," the Connecticut Republican said.

Although the West learned Saturday afternoon that Khrushchev had died, the people

of Russia learned nothing from their own media until Monday morning, Steele said, continuing:

"Listeners to Radio Liberty were, however, fully informed. A news flash was carried in the Russian program at 4:37 p.m. Saturday Moscow time, followed by fuller news items about the circumstances of his death, word of the Monday funeral and reactions of world leaders."

Steele said Radio Liberty intends now to rebroadcast, in daily half-hour installments, the full text of Khrushchev's famous "secret speech" of 1956, in which the ex-premier in Steele's words, "tore Stalin from his pedestal."

"This is particularly timely," he said, "now the forces of re-Stalinization are at work in the U.S.S.R."

# RFE threatened by 'credibility gap'

By Lucia Monat  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

At 7 p.m., as faithfully as many Americans switch on Walter Cronkite or the NBC Nightly News, an estimated 30 million people in Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary tune in Radio Free Europe to catch up on the domestic news of the day. These Western broadcasts aim to fill in the national news that is left out by Eastern Europe's government-controlled media.

The problem at the moment is that Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty, its counterpart beamed at the Soviet Union, are suffering from a certain credibility gap at home.

Some think "the radios," launched by the United States 20 years ago in cold-war days, are passé in this period of East-West détente. Although Radio Free Europe and its supporters insist its reporting of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 was hard-hitting and aggressive but not aimed at inciting and encouraging revolt, the rumor of clumsy handling of that delicate affair persists to RFE's disadvantage.

Another knock to public confidence in the work of "the radios" came with the disclosure earlier this year by Sen. Clifford P. Case (R) of New Jersey that they had been funded throughout their history by the Central Intelligence Agency. Over the years only an estimated \$47 million of the \$30 to \$40 million-a-year operation is estimated to have come from private gifts.

Nonetheless, critics of the broadcasting operations are not so numerous as they are influential — Sen. J. William Fulbright (D) of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has been the most outspoken one — and RFE and Radio Liberty survival now appears assured for at least the next year or two. At that time all the old questions are apt to be raised once again.

Focus at the moment is on the manner

of survival. Many consider it a crucially important point. Most in Congress agree that the funding has to be public. The issue is to what degree there ought to be a semblance of independence from the government.

The administration proposes a "private" corporation, modeled after the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and administered by an 11-man board of directors appointed by the President with congressional approval. The new body would take the name "American Council for Private International Communications, Inc."

The bill that passed the Senate Aug. 3, however, makes no such pretext of independence from government. It underwrites one more year of operation for "the radios" by authorizing \$35 million and channeling it through the Department of State.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee currently is considering the administration bill. However, it is expected that Rep. Dante B. Fascell (D) of Florida will introduce a bill which will assure RFE and Radio Liberty two years' funding through a study group, a compromise more akin to the Senate bill and one which will defer consideration of permanency of operations until after election year. If proposed, such a bill is considered likely to pass the House.

If only one step removed from government control, the broadcasting operations are slightly less vulnerable to charges of meddling in East European internal affairs and that much freer to go at the day-to-day job without bureaucratic approval of all newscasts and editorial roundups.

RFE's function is different from the Voice of America, which is openly a propaganda effort bringing the official U.S. viewpoint on news here and abroad to listeners. Interestingly, the total listenership of RFE is estimated at about twice that of the Voice of America in Eastern Europe.

However revolutionary the intent in their founding, RFE and Radio Liberty now aim for solid, objective reporting of the facts. The House Foreign Affairs Committee heard testimony this week on successes in that attempt.

Former ambassador to Poland John A. Gronouski recalled the early months of 1938 when student uprisings were down-played by the Polish media but reported accurately and in detail by Radio Free Europe.

Both Mr. Gronouski and U. Alexis Johnson, Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the Department of State, stressed that the broadcasting effort plays a "valuable" and "revolutionary" role in contributing to better East-West relations. Noting the strategic-arms-limitation talks in progress and the Berlin agreement just signed, Mr. Johnson said, "These radios are not the sole instru-

STATINTL

## SUPPORT SOUGHT ON RADIO COUNCIL

House Unit Asked to Back  
Radio Free Europe Plan

By BENJAMIN WELLES  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 14—U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, urged the House Foreign Affairs Committee today to authorize the creation of an American Council on International Communication Corporation.

The council would be a non-profit corporation responsible to the President and to Congress for running Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Its members would be named by the President. Since the early nineteen-fifties the two broadcast networks have been administered and financed by the Central Intelligence Agency at an average annual cost of \$30 million.

Mr. Johnson, the third-ranking official in the State Department, described as "totally unacceptable" to the Administration a Senate bill, passed Aug. 2, that would provided financing of the stations from State Department funds pending further studies.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected the Administration's plan for a corporation to run the stations, largely at the insistence of Sen. J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, the committee chairman.

Mr. Fulbright questioned whether the two networks were prolonging cold-war activities.

### Strong Nixon Backing

Mr. Johnson emphasized the strong backing of President Nixon and Secretary of State William P. Rogers for a corporation that would be financed by Congressional appropriations. Those named to the corporation, he said, would be chosen for their "knowledge of foreign affairs, their experience in the news media field and their ability to insure that the grants are disbursed in the national interest."

Citing his own experience as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Mr. Johnson said Radio Free Europe presented objective news to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Its audience, he said, is estimated to be 30 million. The audience of Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, is more difficult to determine, he said, but added that it must number in the millions.

Mr. Johnson said that the two networks, which also offer commentary, often critical, on the internal affairs of East European countries, should not be directly linked to or financed by United States Government agencies. The creation of a council would permit the stations to "act as independent news gathering and news dissemination service," he said.

Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, said that a public-private panel similar to the British system of broadcasting supervision would help insure the networks' independence from governmental control. Mr. Reid and Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, sponsored the original measures in January to end the C.I.A. funding.



PATERSON, N.J.

NEWS

SEP 14 1971

E - 49,251

## Executive Privilege

Executive privilege -- the President's asserted right to withhold information from Congress -- is firmly established in precedent if not law. George Washington was the first Chief Executive to invoke the privilege, in 1793, and at least 17 of his successors have done so. President Nixon is the latest.

Nixon's hand was forced when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to suspend all foreign military aid unless the Defense Department turned over its five-year plan for the program. The committee acted under authority of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which provides that any congressional panel dealing with foreign aid can demand from the executive branch any pertinent "document, paper, communication, audit, review, finding, recommendation, report or other material."

Unless the executive agency provides the requested materials within 35 days, the act further specifies, funds for the portion of the program at issue would automatically be stopped. However, the provision to cut off funds would not take effect if the President certified that he had forbidden the agency to comply with the request and gave his reasons for doing so. Accordingly, Nixon entered a claim of executive privilege hours before the 35-day aid-cutoff deadline.

In explaining his action, the President said "it would not be in the public interest" to provide the committee with the material it sought. Other Presidents have offered the same justification. Grover Cleveland, for example, asserted in 1886 that "the public interest would not be promoted" by furnishing the Senate Judiciary Committee with information on dismissal of Republican officeholders.

The most serious clash between the White House and Capitol Hill over executive privilege occurred in 1948, when President Truman issued a directive barring disclosure of any loyalty files to Congress. The House thereupon approved a bill "directing all executive departments and agencies . . . to make available to . . . all . . . committees of the House . . . and the

Senate, information which may be deemed necessary to enable them to properly perform the duties delegated to them by Congress." The bill never reached the floor of the Senate.

In a sense, executive privilege contributed to the downfall of the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.). During the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings the senator sought information on a private meeting between Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. and Army Counsel John Adams. President Eisenhower proceeded to forbid any testimony on the meeting. When McCarthy persisted, Brownell sharply reminded him that responsibility for enforcement of federal law rested in the executive branch and could not "be usurped by an individual who may seek to set himself above the laws of our land."

The question of executive privilege forms only a part of the wider debate on secrecy in government. Publication of the Pentagon Papers gave rise to demands from the public and the press for reform of classification procedures. President Nixon has indicated he will initiate such reforms.

Meanwhile, more than a dozen bills aimed at bringing the Central Intelligence Agency under greater legislative control have been introduced in the House and the Senate. And the Senate Foreign Relations Committee acknowledged this year for the first time that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had been subsidized by the CIA. Congress is demonstrating anew the wide range of legislative privilege.



## Radio Free Europe Revisited

# Piercing the Iron Curtain with

By ROBERT W. MINTON

This summer revisiting the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Munich after a seven year absence, I was painfully reminded of how little fundamental political change has occurred behind the Iron Curtain, an unfashionable but still valid term.

Multi-lingual monitors there still take down thousands of words daily of the endless propaganda broadcasts they pick up from 50 large and small Communist stations. Hundreds of dreary Communist papers and magazines carrying mostly the party line continue to be picked up at special mail drops for analysis by highly experienced scholars. Tass and other Communist wire services received in the RFE newsroom still pour out their official pronouncements with political tunnel vision.

Probably no place in the world has such a clear and depressing picture of what the absence of a free press means to the 100 million people of the Soviet satellite countries. RFE's mission from its inception in 1950 has been to provide uncensored objective news and a broad spectrum of world opinion via shortwave radio to the people of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania.

FACTS ARE WHAT MAKE these broadcasts eagerly listened to by millions who see large credibility gaps in their own controlled press. Enormous files have been built up to aid editors in scripting talks. Information has to be checked with the greatest care. Listeners are not spared bad news or criticism of the West.

An example of how meaningful such a service can be was described to me by a Polish exile editor. Last Dec. 15 one of RFE's monitors picked up a rather frantic late night broadcast from the Baltic city of Gdansk (formerly Danzig) urging the population to be calm in the face of disturbances.

No other Polish radio carried news of any disturbances in the country, so it was evident that the authorities wanted to keep this information from the rest of Poland. RFE then began to broadcast to all of Poland and to all its other East European listeners the content of this broadcast. Foreign correspondents in Warsaw immediately went north to gather the facts of the now famous worker's uprising against low wages and poor conditions in the north.

As the news became general throughout the world, a governmental crisis developed in Poland leading to the ouster of Gomulka, who had been the Polish party chief and dictator since 1956. A more liberal government under Gierk was installed. This came

(Radio Free Europe, which has been broadcasting to Eastern Europe in native languages since 1950, will be the subject of a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee shortly after Congress reconvenes this month. Robert W. Minton, who served as RFE's public affairs director from 1957 to 1964, returned to Munich this summer to visit RFE headquarters. He found it still to be a dynamic and objective news service, but a place troubled by the skepticism of some members of Congress. Minton is currently public relations director of Boston University.)

about in part because RFE forced the Polish press to acknowledge an injustice and deal with facts instead of ignoring them.

Such an accomplishment should have cheered up my old colleague, but like exiles often are he was depressed. "They want to shut us down," he said.

"You mean the Germans?"

"No, I mean your Congress."

This was news to me. I got the story from David Grozier, RFE's ebullient public relations director. Few in Congress have said they want to close down RFE, but some members are uneasy about it for two reasons: the CIA until last year supplied much of the financing of RFE, a private organization which was unable to raise enough money from public appeals to maintain its round-the-clock operation employing more than 1,000 people; and RFE's anti-communism, some think is out of step with the new spirit of detente that has led to a Berlin agreement (with the same old Berlin wall left intact).

BUT HOW DO THE GERMANS FEEL about keeping this American station on their soil now? Dave produced a sheaf of recent clippings from liberal German papers—the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Die Zeit, Frankfurter Rundschau—all commending RFE for its fairness in presenting news and world opinion to people who have no free press. It's anti-communism is perceived really as breaking a government news monopoly.

"The German government has renewed RFE's license for a year in spite of direct diplomatic intervention from Poland," Grozier said.

In the RFE conference room, named after the late C. D. Jackson, publisher of Life magazine and once head of RFE, Ralph Walter, the director, guides the morning policy discussion. How shall the broadcast-

Truth

Sept 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-016

STATINTL

E. VLADIMIROV

## Imperialist Intelligence and Propaganda

STATINTL

IN OUR DAYS, the role of propaganda and intelligence as major foreign policy instruments of the imperialist states is growing all the time. B. Murty, an American professor, emphasises that the functions of camouflaged ideological coercion and subversion of world law and order are being carried out by means of propaganda.<sup>1</sup> In effect, Murty recognises the close connection between propaganda and intelligence.

The intelligence agencies do not, of course, conduct their propaganda activity openly, but they possess the necessary means to promote ideological subversion abroad and render it more effective. A network of secret agents and paid informers, bribed newspaper and magazine publishers, corrupt politicians and adventurers, to whom the intelligence service assigns the role of "charity workers" and "educationalists"—all this makes it possible for the intelligence service to exercise anonymous control in spreading propaganda and disinformation.

Richard Helms, the head of the CIA, stated in a memorandum to the government, that the psychological warfare must be placed fully under the control of the US intelligence service. Psychological warfare, he stressed, is a sphere of government activity which must be dealt with only by professionals acting in secret. An American professor, Ransom, who for a long time took part in the military research programme of Harvard University, holds that the role of the CIA in undertaking political and psychological subversive acts has increased so much that it has become a major instrument of political war, and has far exceeded the functions determined by the law on the establishment of the CIA.<sup>2</sup>

Some bourgeois scholars call this process "politicising" the intelligence service. "The

agent influencing political affairs abroad is becoming a central figure," wrote Bergh, a West German expert on intelligence.<sup>3</sup>

In this way, a kind of an organisationally independent sphere of so-called unofficial propaganda is forming. In the opinion of Western specialists and politicians, this type of propaganda has a number of advantages over the official one. A report "The American Image Abroad", submitted to the American Senate in 1968 by the Republican Coordinating Committee, stresses that the material being spread by non-governmental agencies is accepted in foreign countries with greater trust than that put out by the government. In view of this, the committee recommended the government to encourage by every possible means the American organisations issuing information and propaganda material for foreign countries.

A vivid example of the kind of unofficial propaganda directed against the USSR and other socialist countries is the activity of Radio Free Europe, officially an independent organisation, but virtually controlled by the US authorities.

Speaking in the US Senate in January 1971, Senator C. Case said that 1,642 employees of Free Europe and about 1,500 professional workers of the Liberty radio station were maintained by the CIA. These subversive centres make use of 49 transmitters bought with CIA money. The American intelligence service expends annually over \$30 million on these radio saboteurs. Hundreds of millions of dollars have travelled from the US state treasury to the accounts of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for over 20 years. As for the assertions that they are financed from "private donations", it transpires that these donations do not even cover advertising expenses on appeals to the American public for money.

The US intelligence agencies secretly subsi-

<sup>1</sup> See B. Murty, *Propaganda and World Public Order. The Legal Regulation of the Ideological Instrument of Coercion*, New Haven—London, 1968, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Ransom, *The Intelligence Establishment*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1970, pp. 94, 239.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bergh, *ABC der Spione*, Pfaffenhofen, 1965, p. 83.

28 Aug 1971

STATINTL

## RADIO FREE EUROPE

The Senate Aug. 2 by voice vote passed a bill (S 18) providing \$35-million to fund Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty for fiscal 1972.

Although the bill was approved by the Senate without either a word or vote of objection, the action marked the end of an era which the State Department refused to admit ever existed. For 20 years, both radio stations had been operating on covert funding provided by the Central Intelligence Agency, although both the stations and the United States government maintained they were privately owned corporations operating solely through contributed money.

The Foreign Relations Committee report on S 18 (S Rept 92-319) told of the long-standing relationship between the radio stations and the CIA and said: "Executive branch officials refuse publicly to acknowledge the agency's (CIA) participation or role in maintaining and operating the two radios."

References. *CIA special report, Weekly Report p. 1840; committee action, p. 1609; Congress and the Nation Vol. II, p. 852.*

Background. In 1967, at the time the CIA was criticized for allegedly contributing funds to the National Student Association (NSA), President Lyndon B. Johnson made a policy statement declaring that "no federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations."

Clifford P. Case (R N.J.) touched off a debate Jan. 24, 1971, when he recalled the Johnson policy statement and tried to apply it as reason for adopting his bill (S 18) calling for congressionally authorized funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. On Jan. 25, the Nixon Administration, speaking through the State Department, announced that the two radio stations were "not educational or private voluntary organizations" within the United States and, therefore, the Johnson policy statement was not applicable to the situation.

While the Administration refused to accept the argument that the radio stations should not be funded by the CIA because of the 1967 Johnson statement or, indeed, that any such relationship existed, the Case proposal itself attracted attention in the State Department. In response to the Case bill came the Nixon Administration's counter proposal—S 1936.

Under the provisions of S 1936, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee May 23, the radio stations would be controlled by a single non-profit, private corporation which was to receive an open-ended authorization without legislative review. Funds would still have to be appropriated by Congress. No government agency was specified to oversee the stations. The corporation, which was to be called the American Council for Private International Communications Inc., was to have an 11-man board of directors appointed by the President.

The Case bill (S 18), on the other hand, required funds for the stations to be authorized and appropriated by Congress under the authority of the U.S. Information and Education Exchange Act of 1948. The State Department was named as the primary recipient of the appropriations for the two stations. Case's proposal recommended a \$30-million appropriation for fiscal 1972 only.

## Government-Sponsored Radios

The following are brief descriptions of overseas radio stations funded in whole or in part by the United States government:

**RADIO FREE EUROPE**—Broadcasting to five Communist-governed East European countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Hungary—in the native tongue of the region, approximately 18 hours per day; news headquarters in Munich, West Germany; 32 transmitters located in West Germany and Spain; funding until July 1971 provided primarily by the Central Intelligence Agency, with some private contributions—mostly from U.S. corporations; fiscal 1971 budget for both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty was \$36.2-million.

**RADIO LIBERTY**—Broadcasting exclusively to the Soviet Union in 17 dialects; programming around the clock; news headquarters in Munich, West Germany; 17 transmitters in Spain, Taiwan and West Germany; funding until July 1971 provided primarily by the CIA, with some private contributions.

**VOICE OF AMERICA**—Broadcasting worldwide in 36 languages with 40 percent of air time beamed to Communist-governed countries; 108 medium and shortwave transmitters located throughout the world; fiscal 1971 budget of \$41-million included as part of the over-all budget of the United States Information Agency.

Before the Foreign Relations Committee could act on either of the proposals, the Senate Appropriations Committee, under Chairman Allen J. Ellender (D La.), reported June 25 a routine resolution (H J Res 742) providing for the continued funding of certain government agencies until regular fiscal 1972 appropriations could be cleared through Congress. Contained in the resolution as amended by the committee was the first mention ever made in an official public document that the U.S. government was connected with Radio Free Europe or Radio Liberty. The committee had inserted language providing for the continued funding of the two stations, at a level equal to what they had been receiving from the CIA, under provisions of the U.S. Information Act being used by the Case proposal. The committee also included a restraining clause which provided that funds from other government agencies could not be used to support the stations. (*Weekly Report p. 1805*)

Although the routine resolution which contained the precedent-setting language failed to arouse a stir in the United States, the significance of H J Res 742 was not lost on the Soviet Union. In a July issue of *Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper discussed the resolution, saying the United States was at last admitting they supported the anti-Communist radio stations which had for two decades been devoted to undermining the Soviet system.

The Nixon Administration, however, has made no admissions despite efforts by the Foreign Relations Committee to obtain a public statement regarding the radio stations from the State Department.

"The committee deplores the fact that this financing—covering some 20 years—has been kept a secret from the American people and their elected representatives. It is indeed regrettable that the executive branch of the government under five Administrations deceived the taxpayers with respect to the expenditure of these public funds," the Foreign Relations Committee report stated.

Provisions. As passed by the Senate, S 18:

- Authorized funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the authority of the Educational Exchange Act of 1948.

- Authorized appropriations of \$35-million for fiscal 1972 to the State Department for operation of the radio stations.

- Provided that no funds from other government agencies other than those authorized in the bill for the State Department could be used to fund the radio stations. ✓

11 AUG 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R0

# Letters to the Editor

## Radio Free Europe

SIR: How surprising that one of the most important decisions of the past twenty years in behalf of freedom has gone practically unheralded by the free press. That is the decision of the Senate, so far, to authorize open government financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and to suspend all connections with CIA, the previous sponsor. The proposed \$35-million budget is not much compared with Russian, Chinese and other propaganda financing, but the important thing is clear identification of legitimate parenthood, the federal government.

At a time when domestic communications are having a saturnalia of self-flagellation, the new freedom for the powerful external broadcast facilities of RFE should be explained, in detail, intelligently and with political maturity, to the American people by our press, instead of keeping the significant story a secret.

If anything is needed in this country of ours, it is to grow up, to come to understand the wide world of power, self-interest, intrigue and mortal danger, which we did not invent, in which we have not done too well as a current world leader and in which economic and humanitarian "involvement" cannot possibly exist without corresponding political intervention by someone. The sooner we cease playing with flowers in a world of fantasy, the sooner we may come to grips with a better solution of eternal problems.

In 1949, and with very sound reason, Gen. Lucius Clay expressed the need for a powerful broadcasting instrument which would speak for all captive and disenfranchised peoples, just as the Voice of America speaks for the American people. For the past 21 years millions of Americans and hundreds of U.S. corporations have helped support RFE, through direct contributions as well as through tax dollars for the not very covert sponsorship.

The very concept of democratic diplomacy, an undisciplined and moralistic pragma competing with Communist dialectic and doctrine in an era of mass man, is schismatic enough without hamstringing our foreign broadcasts by faction at home. We are heading into perilous decades which remind one of Mackinder's question: "Who among the diplomats around the Congress table at Vienna in 1814 foresaw that Prussia would become a menace to the world?"

Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, to be effective weathervanes as well as instruments of national policy, should be well financed, managed and manned by superior political and technical talent, and supported vigorously by the people and all branches of their government, openly and for the universal cause of freedom with justice, but without impinging upon national security or denigrating the essential greatness that is this country by guawing at its foundations for the psychotic satisfaction of those whose loyalties lie elsewhere.

If the domestic press is the watchdog of the home front, then certainly our foreign broadcasts should be the watchdogs of our policies abroad, preferably before they are irrevocably laid down. "Telling our story" to foreign audiences has some value, properly or convincingly told. But equally important, and strategically far more so, is to comprehend through constant and careful propaganda analysis the nature of receptivity in foreign audiences, not to our broadcasts alone but to all others beamed through the crowded and embattled spectrum where the assorted weaponry of words wields a mighty power of its own.

Stuart L. Hammon.

STATINTL

SIR: Your editorial, "Voice of the People," told of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's turning down "at least temporarily of an administration proposal to finance Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under a tax-exempt corporation."

The CIA, which has been financing both, except for some contributions to the former, has a record of carrying on a part of its global meddling through tax-exempt corporations. The public appeals for Radio Free Europe and the clandestine nature of the CIA's involvement with it may have been designed to give the impression it was being run by such a corporation all the time.

(Radio of Free Asia, a network beamed to Asian Communist countries, purports to be an agency of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation. May this foundation be a creature of the CIA?)

By the time Radio Free Europe played a role in fomenting an attempted revolution in Hungary in 1956 and gave the impression the United States would intervene on the side of the revolutionaries it seemed clear that its function was to make statements for which the Voice of America could not take responsibility.

Talleyrand made a famous statement about governmental maneuvering: "The more it changes, the more it is the same thing." To operate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under a tax-exempt corporation would provide another example of such cosmetic maneuvering.

Alice Franklin Bryant.

MOBILE, ALA.  
REGISTER  
AUG 9 1971  
M - 43,561

## Radio Free Europe Campaign Set By Reds

By DONALD R. SHANOR

Chicago Daily News

VIENNA — The Soviet Union is preparing a new campaign against the U.S.-run Radio Free Europe, with Poland selected as the spearhead of the effort, diplomats here report.

A Polish delegation was recently in Moscow to co-ordinate the campaign which is to begin in September or October.

The disclosure shows that the decision taken last month to remove RFE from Central Intelligence Agency financing has done nothing to diminish the opposition of the Communist states to the station, which broadcasts news and opinion from its Munich headquarters to the Soviet bloc in the local languages.

The fact that the Soviet Union itself does not want to be the visible leader of the campaign is being interpreted as reluctance by Moscow to have a clash with the United States at a time when it is interested in progress on various negotiations.

But passing the leadership to Poland, which is already in the front ranks of those demanding that the station's license be withdrawn by the West German government, will not hurt the effectiveness of the campaign.

The diplomats said the Polish delegation discussed "further plans of action against the so-called centers of political and ideological subversion in the west." This was taken to include radio liberty, also Munich based, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian and other languages.

The campaign is expected to take on the form of parallel diplomatic and propaganda efforts in the Soviet Bloc but probably without the direct participation of Russians.

a high-level committee to fight Radio Free Europe. In charge of it is Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Politburo.

In March, Olszowski recommended that RFE's Polish broadcasts be jammed by Polish stations so that they could not be received clearly by the Polish people.

The jamming action was thus resumed for the first time since the end of 1956, when the Polish party decreed widespread measures of liberation.

RFE also came under attack in the special issue of the party Journal Nowe Drogi, the official monthly of the central committee, which contains the text of the party's recommendations on how to deal with the unrest remaining after the December rioting in the Baltic ports.

The party journal disclosed that attempts to re-indoctrinate the Polish people with "socialist attitudes" is being delayed by "subversive propaganda from Radio Free Europe and the other imperialist radio stations."

## THE PERISCOPE

### RECRUITS FOR BENGAL'S REBELS

The Bengali rebels in East Pakistan are raising money—about \$2.5 million so far—to recruit and outfit a volunteer international brigade for their guerrilla war. Prime source of funds is Britain's 80,000 Pakistanis, who have been asked to contribute a pound (\$2.40) a week apiece.

### RUSSIA'S UNDERSEA EXPLORERS

Three Soviet research ships have just finished several months of cruising around Bermuda and the New England Seamount Chain, an underwater range stretching northwest from Bermuda to within 100 miles of Cape Cod. Pentagon sub experts think they have been mapping possible hiding places for Russian Polaris-type undersea boats. The Soviet vessels, these analysts believe, have been studying such items as water-temperature differentials (which can provide cover for subs) and also have been trying to learn more about U.S. detection systems.

### BRINGING HOME THE BOMBS

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird questions the value of the huge store of tactical nuclear weapons overseas (7,200 in Europe, thousands more in Asia and the Pacific) and has ordered the Joint Chiefs to draw plans for reducing the stockpiles. The first move will be to bring most of the tactical A-weapons on Okinawa back to the U.S. when Japan takes over the island.

### A VISITOR FOR HENRY KISSINGER

Victor Louis, the flamboyant Soviet literary, political and suspected KGB agent, has two reasons for wanting to visit the U.S. The stated purpose of his application for an American visa is to talk to Jewish organizations. Privately, he has put out feelers for a meeting with Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, just back from discussions with Chou En-lai.

### THE WAR ON THE AIRWAVES

The Kremlin has turned up the volume in its efforts to get the U.S. to close down Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and their broadcasts to the Soviet world. The urging is intense, on and off the cocktail circuit, and has included hints to Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany (where the stations are). The suspicion is that, with Congress debating how—and whether—to fund the stations (now CIA-sponsored), the Russians feel now is the time to put on the pressure.



E - 592,616  
S - 827,086

AUG 8 1971

# CIA losing its 'veil of secrecy'

By GEORGE KENTERA  
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Since it opened in the late 1950's, the headquarters of the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in nearby Virginia has been screened from public view by a border of woodland.

That screen is soon to be lost. The land is to be developed by the National Park Service for camping, hiking and picnicking. And even as CIA headquarters itself becomes more visible, an effort is beginning in Congress to open a window on the CIA activities within the building.

These developments on Capitol Hill point up the effort.

The troubled reaction of some Senate members to the disclosure last week that the CIA and the United States were more deeply involved in a clandestine military action in Laos than was heretofore publicly known or believed.

The appointment of an anti-war Michigan congressman, Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi, Detroit Democrat, the chairmanship of a special House subcommittee on intelligence, and his hope of staging open hearings on the CIA.

Action in Congress, already halfway through the legislative process, to put a halt to secret CIA financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beam news behind the Iron Curtain.

NO MEMBER OF CONGRESS asks that the operations of the intelligence agency headed by Richard Helms be an open book. But some members are miffed about the unwillingness of the executive branch to share more information with Congress and the CIA is part of the irritant.

Helms himself recognizes this situation. In dealing with it, he went so far last April as to make a public speech, his first as CIA director, outlining his views.

He firmly denied that his agency was a law unto itself or an invisible government, "engaged in provocative covert activities repugnant to a democratic society and subject to no controls."

The CIA is directly responsible to the National Security Council. But the agency long has contended that it is responsive to Congress as well because of its briefing to an informal group composed of some members of the Armed Services and Appropriations committees.

In his public speech here to members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Director Helms argued that this informal congressional group is "told more about our activities and our operations than is known to most of the personnel in our highly compartmentalized agency."

He added, "But how, in the end, we are to be supervised is for Congress itself to decide."

However, some members of Congress do not feel, despite the informed briefings, that procedures exist that make the CIA at least partially accountable to Congress.

NEDZI SAID THE OTHER DAY, "My feeling is that the old subcommittee (the informal group) served more as a vehicle for the Chief Executive, to enable him to say he had consulted and advised Congress. But I'm not aware that there has been any congressional oversight of the CIA . . . I think it important that the window be opened a bit."

He said later, "Everybody appreciates that elements of restraint are involved. The difficulty is in drawing that line between the national security and public disclosure."

The effort to focus more attention on the CIA is part of a trend in recent years toward more public disclosure by the Congress.

This trend has seen public reporting of congressmen's net worth and income, liberalized rules in House and Senate, the adoption of recorded teller votes in the House, reform of campaign spending and reporting of that spending, and a move toward more open hearings of congressional committees.

Publication of a Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report on Laos last week indicated that CIA-supervised troops numbering more than 30,000 were actually bearing the brunt of the combat against the enemy in Laos.

IT BECAME KNOWN last week that the report had led Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Montana Democrat, to call an extraordinary secret session of the Senate June 7.

A transcript of that session was placed in the Congressional Record last Wednesday and it showed that the Nixon administration was accused of withholding information and misleading Congress about growing American involvement in the Laotian war.

Senator Stuart Symington, Missouri Democrat, told the Senate that U.S. military assistance to Laos had trebled since 1967 and was now 25 times as great as when it began in 1963.

"We have been appropriating money for this war in the blind," he said.

As for Nedzi, he said the Laotian disclosures suggest "there may be a need for legislation in this area, to restrain the CIA from becoming involved in this kind of thing."

"I can understand how it happened," he said, "but I can't justify in my own mind how it happened without Congress being aware of it."

As for Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to Russia, the Senate has approved legislation providing \$35 million in fiscal 1972 for "open funding" of the stations, thereby eliminating, if the bill passes the House, funding by the CIA.

"The Senate has clearly shown," said Senator Clifford P. Case, New Jersey Republican and the bill's sponsor, that it will no longer abdicate its responsibilities in allowing the executive branch to pay out \$35 million a year (to the stations) without congressional authorization.

For 20 years the payments were made by the CIA.



REP. LUCIEN NEDZI



WASHINGTON POST

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R

3 AUG 1977

Congressional ReportCIA Programmed

The Senate passed and sent to the House a stop-gap bill authorizing \$35 million this year for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcast to Eastern Europe. ✓

The two were disclosed earlier this year to have been financed almost totally through the Central Intelligence Agency. The bill represents the culmination of a move to bring them under normal congressional appropriations procedures. ✓

The Foreign Relations committee made clear in approving the bill last month that it viewed the action as stop-gap pending a determination whether the stations were needed as a supplement to the Voice of America.

The Senate also passed and sent to the House a measure authorizing \$77.2 million for the Peace Corps, now part of the Action agency.

Aug 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

STATINTL

# ANTI-COMMUNISM— THE MACHINERY AND THE DOCTRINES

A. VORONOV

OF ALL the myths created by anti-communist propaganda perhaps the most persistently circulated is the myth that this propaganda does not exist at all. There is, it is claimed, only "objective" information, "pure" science, "free" expression of opinion allegedly unencumbered by fetters of any kind in a "pluralistic" society—nothing but a flow of unadulterated facts through the mass media and unbiased research by sociologists and philosophers in search of the truth.

The apologists of capitalism have no choice but to camouflage their real aims and intentions, for they cannot openly sing the praises of a system of exploitation that by its very nature runs counter to the vital interests of the millions. Incapable of charting a social perspective according with the needs of the masses, they seek to discredit the theory of scientific communism and the practical building of communism. Anti-communism is the bellicose ideology of the imperialist rulers of our time, their credo and their political programme.

This ideology and the propaganda machine serving it are exposed in the collective study "The Imperialists' Anti-Communist Propaganda" put out recently in Moscow.\*

## BRAIN TRUSTS

One of those on whose interests the Russian revolution of 1917 directly impinged was the American Herbert

\* "The Imperialists' Anti-Communist Propaganda. The Doctrines and the Machinery" Co-authors: Y. B. Kashlev, Y. A. Polyakov, G. B. Khromushin, I. A. Fedyaikin, G. E. Shlyapnikov. International Relations Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

Hoover. A director of the Kyshtym, Tanalyk and Irtysh concerns and the Russo-Asian Company, Hoover made a good thing of exploiting the wealth of the Urals and Siberia and dreamt of squeezing out even more lush profits. But these dreams were not fated to come true. The hatred Hoover felt for those who deprived him of this plum remained with him throughout his long life, which, incidentally, made a notable imprint on U.S. history. Already as U.S. President he frankly told a *San Francisco News* reporter in August 1931 that he had made it his purpose in life to destroy the Soviet Union.

It is with this in view that he founded as far back as 1919 the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, which today is not only the oldest, but also the leading anti-communist centre in the United States, a forepost of "Sovietology," one of the "brain trusts" of U.S. reaction engaged in working out the basic doctrines of struggle against communist ideology. Hoover himself said in 1959, five years before his death, that the purpose of the Institution was to demonstrate the "evil" contained in the doctrine of Karl Marx and thereby protect the "American way of life" against it.

Hoover's creation is the most striking example of the sources that feed mass anti-communist propaganda both in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Ever since the twenties the Hoover Institution has been painstakingly collecting information about the Soviet Union and the world communist movement. The experience of all the anti-Soviet and anti-communist forces is carefully recorded within its four walls. Its library includes the archives of the tsarist secret police for 1895-1917, archives and stenographic records of Constitutional Democrat, Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary congresses and conferences, and the personal papers of Kerensky, Kolchak, Yudenich and other enemies of Soviet power. After the second world war the Institution acquired the diaries of Goebbels and Himmler and photostatic copies of documents from the Nazi archives.

The scale of the Institution's operations has been steadily growing. Whereas in the first forty years after its founding, by the end of the fifties, it published 54 books, since 1960 it has put out more than 100 major com-

pilations, including studies on communism in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. In 1968 the Institution collaborated in the compilation of a 1,000-page study on "national security" urging the pursuance of a positions-of-strength policy towards the Soviet Union and stepping up the arms drive. Since 1967 it has published an annual on the international communist movement. It sponsors conferences and symposiums. In October 1967, for instance, it arranged a major symposium on "Fifty Years of Communism in Russia." Staff members take an active part in diverse propaganda campaigns, write anti-Soviet and anti-communist effusions for the press, radio and television, and publish pamphlets, manuals, bulletins, etc., in huge editions.

Hoover was a Republican and the Institution is traditionally closely connected with the GOP elite. The leading staff members maintain close relations with the present Administration, and some occupy leading posts in the governmental machine; for instance, Roger A. Freeman is a special assistant to the President on economic questions and Richard Allen is an aide to Henry Kissinger, the President's special assistant for national security.

The Hoover Institution is by no means the only organization of its kind. The U.S. "Sovietology" set-up includes scores of specialized anti-communist and anti-Soviet centres, university departments, chairs and institutes. Prominent among them are the Rand Corporation, financed by the Pentagon and engaged in working out the military-strategic aspects of combating the socialist countries, the Hudson Institute, and the Georgetown University Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. Active anti-communist propaganda and training of specialists in this sphere are the specialty of the Russian study centre at Harvard University, the Russian Institute and Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, and a number of departments and

BALTIMORE, MD.  
NEWS AMERICAN

E - 200,782

S - 291,342

JUL 24 1971

## No News Is Bad News

RADIO Free Europe broadcasts to Eastern Europe all the news that the Communist regimes cannot fit into their political philosophies. Radio Liberty does the same to the Soviet Union.

Both United States broadcast operations emit more music than news—a fact that doesn't cut any ice with the Communist regimes. They want exclusive control over what their populations hear and think and in their philosophy the only legitimate news is what supports Communism.

The Kremlin and its satellites have been protesting Radio Free Europe since it started in 1950, and Radio Liberty since it began beaming news to the Soviet Union in 1961.

Now, at home, the dovish Senate Foreign Relations Committee has turned down an administration request to transfer funding of the radio stations from the CIA to a congressionally-chartered corporation, although it did approve funding under the present setup for another year.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, who naturally sees the American broadcast enterprises as cold war remnants that work against the easing of tensions between this country and the Soviet Union, has asked that "studies" be made of the stations. After they are ready, some months from now, the studies are supposed to be used as a basis for deciding whether or not to keep the stations operating.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcast—we repeat—free world news that the Communist regimes invariably censor. We're all in favor of easing tensions, but that's a two-way street. We say those stations should be maintained at any cost and if the truth offends the Russians—that's just dandy.

**PANEL O.K.'S BAN  
ON CIA RADIO AID** STATINTL

**Senators Seek Fund Limit  
For Broadcasts To East**

*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington--The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted yesterday to end covert CIA financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcast into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The committee approved by voice vote a bill offered by Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) to authorize a one-year appropriation of no more than \$35 million to keep the two stations functioning.

**Corporation Sought**

The funds would be administered through the State Department and the stations would be prohibited from obtaining financial support from any other source.

The administration had agreed to support open financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, but had proposed instead the creation of a non-profit corporation called the American Council for Private International Communications to funnel the funds.

The State Department had argued that this approach would maintain the "private character" of the operation, but it was rejected yesterday by the Foreign Relations Committee.

**CIA Link Not Denied**

Radio Free Europe was founded in 1950 and Radio Liberty in 1951. Both organizations have offices in New York and purportedly operate with funds from private sources.

It has been understood, however, that the operations were financed by the CIA, and Senator Case's assertion that nearly all of the stations' \$40 million-a-year operating cost were paid by the CIA has never been denied, although never openly acknowledged.

Senate sources said one reason the administration wanted to avoid direct government financing of the two stations was that it would cause diplomatic problems for West Germany, where Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have their headquarters.

The stations also have transmitted to the Soviet Union from Taiwan--the last to transmit into the Soviet Union.

# Senate Panel Rebuffs Nixon on Radio Free Europe

By HERMAN WADSWORTH

Special to the New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 --

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee today defeated a Nixon Administration plan to finance and operate Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under a tax-exempt corporation chartered by Congress.

The Central Intelligence Agency has operated the stations since the first was opened 20 years ago.

The committee, meeting behind closed doors, first killed the Administration's measure and then approved a proposal to give the stations \$35-million to operate for another year and leave them under C.I.A. control. According to Congressional sources, Senator J. V. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas and committee chairman, questioned the continuing need for the stations, and won majority support for the measure to keep them functioning until long-range plans could be drawn up and approved.

Mr. Fulbright is also said to have criticized the stations as remnants of the cold war, unsuited to current efforts to achieve a relaxation of East-West tensions.

## Notes Many Stations

He is said to have expressed irritation over the large number of radio installations in Western Europe run by the Voice of America, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the armed forces. The Armed Serv-

ices Network, for example, is said to include 43 installations in West Germany alone.

The network also operates 20 radio stations in Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy and Spain, Congressional sources said. The semi-independent RIAS, or Radio in American Sector, in West Berlin, has 11 facilities. The sources said Radio Free Europe has 13 facilities in the United States and West Europe and Radio Liberty had nine -- including one in Taiwan. The Taiwan station broadcasts to the Asian areas of the the Soviet Union.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Eastern European countries and Radio Liberty to the Soviet Union, they were started in 1950 and 1951, respectively.

## Both Have Solicited Funds

While each maintains an office in New York and solicits public donations, both have headquarters in Munich. Each station is manned largely by broadcasters and analysts of European extraction and the content of newscasts and analyses comprises largely items censored by Communist governments.

On June 25, the Senate passed a continuing resolution providing funds for various

agencies until the regular appropriations bills have cleared Congress. It included funds for the stations.

Mr. Fulbright told reporters after today's hearing that he had asked the General Accounting Office and the Library of Congress to prepare studies of the stations.

He indicated that when the studies are submitted -- probably in early autumn -- they will form the basis for committee recommendations whether to terminate the stations or to continue them under annual Congressional scrutiny and normal authorization and appropriation.

HOUSTON, TEX.

CHRONICLE

JUL 19 1971

E - 279,608

S - 333,807

*The Soviet and Radio Free Europe*

DONALD R. SHANOR of The Chicago Daily News in Vienna — The Soviet Union is preparing a new campaign against the U.S.-run Radio Free Europe, with Poland selected as the spearhead of the effort. The United States' decision last month to remove RFE from Central Intelligence Agency financing has done nothing to diminish the opposition of the communist states to the station, which broadcasts news and opinion from its Munich headquarters to the Soviet bloc in the local languages. The fact that the Soviet Union itself does not want to be the visible leader of the campaign is being interpreted as reluctance by Moscow to have a clash with the United States at a time when it is interested in progress on various negotiations.

STATINTL

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.  
TIMES

JUL 17 1971

M - 59,391

S - 69,238

### *One-Way Truth Waves*

Speaking of letting secrets out, as Vice President Agnew has been lately, the government itself has cast aside the pretext that the anti-Communist Radio Free Europe is privately owned and controlled.

We aren't sure how many foreign governments, friendly or not, have been deluded by the carefully fostered front that the powerful short-wave station, broadcasting primarily to Europe, had nothing to do with official purposes of the government. We do have an idea that a number of private citizens, who solicited or gave contributions to keep the operation going, will be surprised that their collective efforts furnished only a drop in its expense bucket.

RFE and its Far Eastern counterpart, Radio Liberty, came to controversial attention last January when Sen. Clifford Case, R-N.J., revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had spent several hundred million dollars over the past 20 years to keep them on the air.

During that period, RFE conducted an annual appeal for contributions from the public, but Sen. Case estimated the yearly total was \$100,000 or less. On June 25, the Senate passed a resolution which contained a paragraph giving the two stations an appropriation equal to what they received from the CIA in fiscal 1971. The sum wasn't announced, but it was believed to be about \$30 million.

As far as we know, RFE has done a splendid job in getting the truth through to listeners behind the Iron Curtain, so we don't quarrel over its operation. But while truth was being spread abroad, it was being concealed here at home. Sounds backward to us.



WOODBURY, N.J.  
TIMES

STATINTL

E - 21,314

JUL 16 1977

Page 4 -- Daily Times, Woodbury

# Improbable, Impossible, Idiotic, Suicidal, Unthinkable All Spell Stopper

By WILLIAM B. LONG

Everybody relishes the well-ordered life where everything runs smoothly so when the inevitable problems crop up you try to solve them and when questions arise you try to answer them.

Most of the time, the problems do have solutions, at least temporary ones, and the questions have answers, if only vague. Life keeps clipping along and you get a brief moment to sigh and think you're one small step ahead of yesterday.

But once in a while you get straightened up by an oddball situation or statement that leaves you treading air. When you come down, hard, you lost that step you gained and you're back in the starting gate trying to figure it out. Friend, you were hit with a stopper; something improbable, impossible, idiotic, suicidal or unthinkable.

Stoppers will be very consistent in their behavior. They will twist your stomach and tighten you up inside. The only thing you can do with a stopper is ask, very cautiously, "Is this the one that gives me the ulcer?"

Stoppers have been appearing at an alarming rate recently and the time has come to purge them from the system, spread them on the table where they may be examined by all. Each has left its telling twinge. Each has taken its toll, however slight. Logic and rational

thinking are defenseless against them. Even explanations fail. Stoppers are just there, jabbing away at the weak spots.

It's a stopper when Radio Free Europe, posing as a foundation living on private donations, gets a \$40 million annual CIA budget and all those television commercials (Give to Radio Free Europe) only got it \$100,000 and some domestic credibility.



Wm. B. Long

by an oddball situation or statement that leaves you treading air. When you come down, hard, you lost that step you gained and you're back in the starting gate trying to figure it out. Friend, you were hit with a stopper; something improbable, impossible, idiotic, suicidal or unthinkable.

## Stripped of Pretense

IT IS ONLY RESPECTABLE that the Government, under the prod of Senator Case of New Jersey, should give up the subterfuge of pretending that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which have been operated on CIA funds, are a privately owned and financed outlet for the Free World's truth.

For years, bus and subway patrons in this country have idly gazed at car cards advertising the courageous and selfless role of Radio Free Europe in bringing the truth to the mind-shackled Communists. This has been a public service activity of the Advertising Council, providing free media space for messages that urge the bus rider to send a contribution to an address in Mount Vernon, New York, for the support of the radio stations.

Though they have been palmed off to the public as privately financed by corporations, foundations and individual gifts, these stations, Case has shown, are actually operated on hidden appropriations from the CIA at around \$30 million a year. The campaigns carried on in free media space, he has shown, have run to "less than \$100,000" a year.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are both doing a good job of sending news to Eastern European and Russian audiences, respectively. But there is no excuse for maintaining the shattered pretense of their being anything but what they are, Government run. If a Nixon Administration proposal goes through, a tax-exempt, non-profit corporation will be set up to finance and supervise the two stations. This is as it should be.

KANSAS CITY, MO.  
STAR

E - 325,351  
S - 396,682

JUL 14 1971

## New Red Opposition To Radio Free Europe

Service of the Chicago Daily News

Vienna—The Soviet Union is preparing a new campaign against the U.S.-run Radio Free Europe, with Poland selected as the spearhead of the effort, diplomats here report.

A Polish delegation recently was in Moscow to co-ordinate the campaign, which is to begin in September or October.

The disclosure shows that the decision last month to remove R.F.E. from Central Intelligence Agency financing has done nothing to diminish the opposition of the Communist states to the network, which broadcasts news and opinion from its Munich headquarters to the Soviet bloc in the local languages.

The fact that the Soviet Union does not want to be the visible leader of the campaign is being interpreted as reluctance by Moscow to clash with the United

States while it is interested in various negotiations.

But passing the leadership to Poland, which already is in the front ranks of those demanding that the station's license be withdrawn by the West German government, will not hurt the effectiveness of the campaign.

The diplomats said the Polish delegation discussed "further plans of action against the so-called centers of political and ideological subversion in the West." This was taken to include Radio Liberty, also Munich based, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union in Russian and other languages.

The campaign is expected to take on the form of parallel diplomatic and propaganda actions by the countries of the Soviet bloc, but probably without direct participation by the Russians.

CAMDEN, N.J.  
COURIER-POST

E - 111,336

JUL 13 1971

## Case Winning Point on CIA Radio

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — The administration is apparently yielding to pressure from Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., to put the budgets for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty out in the open instead of funding the two European stations covertly through the Central Intelligence Agency.

Since January, Case has been campaigning to have the stations' budgets put in the federal budget as line items, instead of being hidden in the CIA appropriation. Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Eastern Europe, Radio Liberty to Russia, both from Munich.

Monday, Case called it "a good first step" that authorization for funds for the two was openly included in a continuing

resolution passed recently by the Senate to provide money for various agencies that are waiting for their regular appropriations bills to get through Congress.

### Ask Permanency

The New Jersey Republican said he and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., still feel, however, that legislation must be passed making the change permanent.

Case said he favors the stations' operation and activities, but believes the money should be authorized and appropriated in the regular way. The administration proposed instead to create a tax-exempt, non-profit corporation to finance them, with a federal grant of about \$40 million a year.

Both stations have always maintained the fiction that they are privately supported. Radio Free Europe campaigns for contributions from the United States public, which reportedly has never asked for such gifts. The continuing resolution did not specify an amount but authorized providing an appropriation equal to what the stations received from the CIA in the 1971 budget year.

## U.S. Openly Funding Anti-Red Radio

STATINTL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 11—The United States has quietly begun open funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, dropping any pretensions that the anti-Communist stations are privately owned and controlled.

The two stations became the center of controversy last January when Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency spent several hundred million dollars over the last 20 years to keep them functioning.

Radio Europe, founded in 1950, broadcasts to Eastern European countries except Yugoslavia. Radio Liberty, started a year later, aims at the Soviet Union. Both stations have offices in New York, but their day-to-day operation is directed from Munich, West Germany, where each station has extensive broadcasting facilities.

The two stations purport to be privately financed by corporations, foundations and the public; however, contributions from these sources are reported to be a very small part of the stations' total budgets.

In January, Senator Case said Radio Free Europe conducted a yearly campaign for public contributions under the auspices of the Advertising Council. Although between \$12-million and \$20-million in free media space is donated to this campaign annually, he said, the return from the public is "apparently less than \$100,000.

On June 25, the Senate passed a continuing resolution

appropriating funds for various agencies until the regular appropriations bills have cleared Congress. Contained in the resolution was a paragraph that gave the two stations an appropriation equal to what they received from the C.I.A. in the 1971 fiscal year. Although the amount was not specified in the resolution, it is believed to be about \$30-million.

The Senate resolution, marking the first time in their 20-year histories that the two stations have been openly financed by the United States Government, attracted little attention in United States newspapers. It was given prominent coverage in the Soviet press, however.

The July issue of Pravda carried an analysis of the situation that concluded that the United

States had decided to stop making a secret of its attempts to undermine the Soviet system by broadcasting from the two stations.

Shortly after making his revelations about the station's funding, Mr. Case introduced legislation to bring Government spending on the two stations under the authorization and appropriations process of Congress.

President Nixon proposed in May a variation of the Case bill that would create a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation to finance and supervise the two stations. Under the Administration proposal, the new corporation, to be known as the American Council for International Communications, Inc., would receive an annual Congressional appropriation of approximately \$40-million.

Both bills are pending before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
DESERT NEWS

E - 84,855

JUL 5 1971

## Free In Name Only

Radio Free Europe, the organization that claims to broadcast the truth behind the Iron Curtain, has been less than truthful about how RFE is financed.

For years RFE has been asking for donations from the public, but all the time it has secretly been receiving most of its finances from the Central Intelligence Agency.

This undercover financing of RFE has been an open secret in Europe. But not until last January were these rumors confirmed in the United States, when Sen. Clifford Case (R., N.J.) said publicly that the CIA was providing about \$20 million of RFE's \$21 million budget.

Recently, President Nixon asked Congress to set up a nonprofit corporation financed by Congress to run RFE, apparently confirming Senator Case's allegations.

Spokesmen for Radio Free Europe have continually claimed that their organization could not function if it were a part of the U.S. Government. As opposed to the straight news broadcast on the official U.S. radio, the Voice of America, RFE broadcasts political commentary and criticism of the various Eastern European Communist regimes.

Senator Case's main complaint against RFE was that the CIA money financing it was not appropriated by Congress. But other questions are raised by the relationship between the CIA and RFE.

How credible can RFE's broadcasts be when they are supported by an intelligence agency? What is the moral principle involved in the government's covertly financing a supposedly private organization that pleads for public donations? And what about the listeners of RFE who have believed that this was an unofficial voice?

Secret government financing to any private organization is repulsive and should be stopped. President Nixon's proposed nonprofit corporation to run RFE may bring some real "freedom" back into that organization.

S 10374

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

Can that community vote to keep out the \$25,000 homes that concern the President? Or must we call on the due process clause to protect the developers' property rights to rationalize the relationships of civilized human values to urban land?

Power to the people is fine. But power to the people who got there first means the continued balkanization of our metropolitan areas.

#### AMBASSADOR ROBERT ELLSWORTH

Mr. MATTHIAS. Mr. President, public service is a privilege, but it imposes heavy burdens on the talent, the courage, the strength, and the dedication of the men and women who devote their lives to politics and Government. The glamor and the trappings of office have enough glitter so that the hard work is sometimes overlooked until we reach some milestone and look back over the road we have traveled.

Bob Ellsworth has come home from Europe and will make his home in Maryland. He is very welcome and I look forward to a renewed opportunity to learn from him some of the lessons gained from his experience as U.S. Ambassador to NATO.

Ambassador Ellsworth entered the Congress in the election of 1960 and took his seat as a representative from Kansas on the same day that I also took my seat in the House. He immediately earned a leadership role among the Republican freshmen and he retained that role by his industry and ability.

When he left the House and undertook the general practice of law he soon became associated with a successful New York lawyer, Richard M. Nixon. Their professional relationship was such that when Mr. Nixon moved his office to Washington, Bob Ellsworth came along as Assistant to the President of the United States.

He was later entrusted with the delicate and highly sensitive responsibility of representing the President and the people of the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. During his tenure in Brussels, I had occasion to visit Europe and can testify to the high regard in which Bob Ellsworth was held.

And now we are glad to welcome him back, to thank him for all his good work and to wish him many years of contentment and happiness and success.

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is fast approaching the critical point. In fact, as the matter stands, funds for both operations will be running out quite soon.

An editorial published in the Washington Post of June 26 raises very pertinent issues concerning the importance of approving appropriations as soon as possible to enable the two stations to continue their valuable broadcasts.

While Congress is currently hassling over the issue of where financing for both operations should come, we should keep in mind the vital importance of these stations continuing their operations.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE ESSENTIAL BUSINESS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

Radio Free Europe, which undertakes to tell East Europeans the news about themselves that their own controlled media withhold, is under harsh political attack for that reason from governments of some of the East European countries it broadcasts to. It may face an even greater peril, however, from the confusion of efforts underway in Washington to end its covert financing by the C.I.A. and to finance and operate it on a new open basis. The situation has got to be taken into hand quickly, for as matters stand, funds will run out for RFE—and for Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union—quite soon. The two stations are much too valuable to be lost in a summer haze.

East European governments resentful of RFE's broad appeal to their populations have long stewed and fulminated about it—along with pulling such dirty tricks as putting poison in the salt shakers of its Munich headquarters. They could do little more, until Willy Brandt opened his policy of reconciliation with the East. Then, sensing an opportunity for leverage, they said that his Ostpolitik and RFE are incompatible. In fact, they are not, but Germany was embarrassed. Once Mr. Nixon made clear his position that American troops and American radios in Germany are part of a package, however, Bonn diplomatically told the protesting East Europeans to cool down.

Some East European governments bored in harder when Senator Clifford Case stated publicly what almost everybody had known for years—that the C.I.A. finances RFE (and Radio Liberty). Poland, for instance, called upon the United States last month to put RFE off the air.

Senator Case's point was to get RFE out in the open and so he offered a bill to finance it by direct appropriations, through the State Department. The administration, correctly contending that much of RFE's audience appeal lies in its appearance of independence from the American government, countered with a bill to set up a publicly funded "private" corporation to run both RFE and RL (West Germany, for its own reasons, favors the latter approach.) In the meanwhile, there arose on Capitol Hill legitimate questions about the cost of the stations, their research functions, their relationship to other American propaganda and cultural programs, and their coordination with political efforts for detente. The administration did not allow enough time for Congress to cope adequately with these questions and, as a result, the stations are now hanging by the thread of a continuing resolution which provides funds only until August.

We do not have dogmatic views on the kind of organizational home the stations ought to have or on the size of their budgets or the scope of their non-broadcasting activities. We would like to make the emphatic point, however, that RFE and RL do an extremely important job and, in our judgment, do it well.

RFE still carries an image of irresponsibility dating from its indeed-irresponsible words of encouragement to Hungarian rebels in 1956. Together, RFE and RL have the reputation of being the voices of bitter emigres and primitive anti-Communists. The two stations, however, have considerably changed and they can no longer be fairly accused of the sins of their past. What they do now is to communicate directly with the people of East Europe who want to listen to them in order to learn what they cannot learn from their own captive press and radio. The stations do not incite to revolution or preach anti-Communism; they say what is going on in East Europe. It would be an unpardonable breach of faith with the stations' millions of

listeners to deny them their choice of radio fare.

Detente, if it means anything, means widening the West's contacts with the East, not helping the East to seal off its people from the West. It means the exchange of people, goods, words and ideas. This is the essential business of RFE and RL. The Congress, in its right-minded determination to shake the stations free of the CIA, should not lose sight of the reason for letting them continue it.

#### THE PENTAGON DOCUMENTS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, we are reading and hearing much today about the stolen Pentagon documents which allegedly reveal that former President Johnson was planning to escalate the Vietnam war even before the 1964 Presidential elections during which he campaigned as the peace candidate.

Many issues have been raised during this controversy, and I am sure that further study and research will uncover other issues.

Few conclusions stand out clearly at this point, but one fact does stand out—a great portion of the American people feel that they have been deceived and lied to.

An editorial entitled "A Monstrous Lie," published in the News of June 27 calls attention to this debate. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### A MONSTROUS LIE

Enough of the so-called Pentagon Papers have been published, amid a flurry of federal court injunctions against publication by individual newspapers, to get a glimmer of an idea of what they are and are not.

It is clear that the entire set of documents, even when all are released or made public by other means, will tell only a small part of the Vietnam war story and the decision-making processes involved in American participation in the Indochina conflict. Some indications are beginning to emerge to show that the papers may have been handpicked carefully to create an entirely erroneous concept of how America got bogged down in Southeast Asia.

The further implication is that the Pentagon study ordered by former Defense Secretary McNamara may have been designed to serve the selfish interests of the so-called Kennedy clan and Pentagon Whiz Kids who got America deeply involved in Vietnam in the 1960's then tried to get themselves off the hook.

It is very easy to handpick from among hundreds of differing "contingency plans" devised to cope with every conceivable kind of development and come up with an entirely distorted picture of the planning process and to shift the onus of responsibility from one group to another, almost at will. There are strong indications that this may have been done in the Pentagon study, at least in some instances.

Therefore, the American public would be well advised against accepting as "full gospel" the contents of the voluminous study report as it is revealed, piecemeal or otherwise.

It is possible however, to spot obvious instances in which the American public was lied to for reasons of selfish partisan politics.

One is the matter of the decision to bomb North Vietnam. The Pentagon papers show that a fairly firm consensus to bomb the north had developed in the Johnson administration before the 1964 presidential elec-



ing Sea in about 1,000 years, at which time it would be harmless. The "very unlikely" alternative would be for the radioactive water to reach the Bering Sea in two or three years at about 1,200 times safe levels and continue to be discharged for 130 years, he says.

"In this unlikely event, the mixing with ocean waters in longshore currents would introduce an effective dilution factor," Mr. Gard says confidently.

But Jerold Lowenstein, a radiation expert at the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco, scoffs at the "magic of dilution" and says low levels of radioactivity can accumulate and be reconcentrated in the food cycle. Sen. Gravel adds, "In these days when the nation is deeply concerned about mercury poisoning and the market for seafood products has fallen off sharply, even the suspicion that radioactive water is leaking to the surface could devastate the market for all fishery species of the North Pacific."

Conservationists are especially enraged because the Aleutian Islands, including Amchitka, are a national wildlife refuge. But when he established the refuge in 1913, President Taft provided that Amchitka could be used for military purposes. Says the Audubon Society's Mr. Bell, "I think it is perfectly clear that coaling stations and the like were the kind of military purposes that President Taft considered commensurate with wildlife refuge status. It is obvious that he could not have conceivably imagined that this might include testing five-megaton nuclear weapons."

#### "NO ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT"

Cannikin, the AEC claims, will cause "no significant environmental impact" on Amchitka. The island is home to the endangered sea otter, which the AEC has been helping transplant to other habitats in an effort to expand its ranks. Perhaps as many as 20 sea otters "could suffer measurable physiological effects" from the test, the AEC says, but the overall impact will be "negligible." The AEC adds that "a few fish of commercially important species may be killed by the shock."

As far as the Aleuts are concerned, the Aleutians should belong to them under a complex Alaskan native land claims settlement now pending before Congress. Ilodor Philimonof, president of the Aleut League, which is threatening a lawsuit, says the Aleuts "were and are entitled to the protection of provisions of the Constitution. Property should not be taken without due process." The proposed explosion, he alleges, is another example of the white man subjecting Aleuts to "mistreatment and misfortune."

But the overriding issue in the controversy may be whether the test is actually necessary. Officially, the AEC hasn't disclosed the precise purpose of the \$160 million project except that "the test is considered of vital importance to national security." In testimony to a Senate committee in April, an AEC official admitted Cannikin will be to test the warhead for the Spartan antiballistic missile.

If that's the case, some scientists allege, then Cannikin is pointless. Jeremy J. Stone, director of the 2,000-member Federation of American Scientists, claims Cannikin was conceived by the AEC in 1960 under President Johnson to test the Spartan missile, an anti-Chinese missile defense system. However, Mr. Stone contends, the Nixon administration in early 1969 revised the ABM program to have the defense of Minuteman ICBMs against a Soviet threat as its primary purpose, with the defense of cities from a China attack as a supplemental program. "There now is ample reason to believe that a majority of the U.S. Senate will not support an anti-Chinese ABM," he says, adding that the Spartan missile isn't necessary in the ICBM defense system.

"Basically," Mr. Stone argues, "Cannikin is a bureaucratic oversight—an experiment that has been waiting to be canceled."

The final green light for Cannikin must be flashed by President Nixon. The Anchorage Daily Times, quotes "reliable sources" in Washington as saying the administration may cancel Cannikin because of its "potential political risk" in the wake of the recent agreement with the Soviet Union at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to negotiate limits on defensive ABM systems. (One AEC official grumbles that the Russians earlier this year set off a six-megaton test on an Arctic Island and "you didn't hear too much about that.")

Like its smaller Amchitka predecessor in 1969, Cannikin is generating much international ill will, especially in Canada and Japan, two fishing nations. Patrick Moore, a Canadian conservationist, points out that Japan, Canada and even the Soviet Union (which is 800 miles from Amchitka) are closer to the blast site than is the contiguous U.S., and thus "exposed to a more serious threat." His suggestion: If the U.S. wants "to indulge" itself in the test, explode it in the geographic center of the U.S. in central Kansas.

#### THEY MOUTHED MORALITY

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1971

MR. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to direct the attention of the House to today's news commentary section of the New York Times, where Charles Frankel has presented a very informative and clarifying analysis of Walter Rostow's view of "moralism" in policymaking for Vietnam.

#### THEY MOUTHED MORALITY

(By Charles Frankel)

Walt Rostow has stated the moral case for the war in Vietnam in these pages. No one who knows Mr. Rostow doubts his sincerity or depth of moral commitment. But the issue is not what it has been said to be—that those who made the decisions about the war were indifferent to moral considerations. The issue is the impersonal one as to the actual nature of these considerations, and the kind of logic that should be used in thinking about them.

It is odd for Mr. Rostow to call on George Kennan's animadversions against "moralism" to support the position he takes. His position is a study in moralism. Reading him, I have the same feeling again that I had when I discussed the war with some of its defenders in the Johnson Administration. It was the feeling of running into a blank wall, and turning around and running into another.

The first was a wall of fact to which I wasn't privy. ("If only you knew the facts that we know about Vietnam, you wouldn't hold the position you do." Well, now I know some of those facts, and they are quite unlovely.) But the other wall was and is the Great Wall of Moral Absolutes, a wall of principles to which one clings against the facts, against experience, against feeling.

Mr. Rostow begins, in effect, by telling us to keep our guard up against moral doubts. He sets up an impossible ideal—absolute pacifism—and confesses to a feeling of sadness that we can't attain it. But we can't; life is hard. "All national policy—like the human condition itself—is morally flawed."

The operative moral question about the war in Vietnam is not whether war in general is "ugly and sinful." It is about this war,

its necessity, its purposes, whether these purposes could be accomplished, whether they were worth accomplishing given the cost in human suffering.

And what about this war? Mr. Rostow says that it meets one condition for being moral because the "national interests" we have pursued in Vietnam are parallel to those of the South Vietnamese, who, in 1961 and 1965, wanted to fight for an independent destiny. The South Vietnamese? Which ones? Which government? What about the South Vietnamese who are with the Vietcong?

Again, Mr. Rostow says that a war, if it is to be moral, must be conducted "so as to minimize damage to civilian lives." The argument, when offered in defense of the Vietnam war, is ghoulish. What is the relation of this abstract principle to mass transfers of populations, free-fire zones, the ghastly weapons we have used? Does the fact that all national policy is "morally flawed" relieve us from the responsibility of looking at facts?

The rest of Mr. Rostow's statement is similar. He says that our basic "power interests" in the world are morally legitimate because they are wholly "negative": We simply wish "to prevent the dominance of Europe and Asia by a single potentially hostile power." But what of the specific ways in which we have pursued this "negative" goal?

We cannot draw the lessons from Vietnam that some of its critics wish us to. The war is not a product of "the system." It is the product of the Cold War mentality, of the inordinate influence of the Pentagon and its satellites, and of policies that were adopted only by circumventing the system of consultation with the electorate and its representatives. But the way we got into the war, the way we have argued about it, tells us something about our national life.

It tells us that the habit is widespread of asserting airy moral principles without looking at their content and consequences. Highly intelligent men, products of the best education we have to offer, think that they have done their duty by morals when they mouth abstractions whose living meaning is left unexamined, and cling to lofty goals without ever asking whether the legitimacy of these goals is affected by what is done in their pursuit.

#### RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 29, 1971

MR. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, June 24, I joined Mr. RAB of New York in sponsoring of H.R. 9330, a bill to provide for the creation of an American Council for Private International Communications, Inc., as a funding and management mechanism for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Last Saturday, the Washington Post published an editorial regarding RFE and RL. I bring to the attention of my colleagues this very informative piece:

#### THE ESSENTIAL BUSINESS OF RADIO FREE EUROPE

Radio Free Europe, which undertakes to tell East Europeans the news about themselves that their own controlled media withhold, is under harsh political attack for that reason from governments of some of the East European countries it broadcasts to. It may face an even greater peril, however, from the confusion of efforts underway in Wash-

29 JUN 1971

STATINTL

CHARLES BARTLETT

*Declining U.S.-Soviet Cultural Ties*

MOSCOW -- President Nixon has reconfirmed the wisdom of being sternly consistent with the Russians on the big issues, but much more can be done by both sides to soften the minor rubs in East-West relations.

Aliens are crawling all over Moscow in the biggest tourist invasion to date. Some 500 Americans are in the city and Intourist officials are beaming at the prospects of a season that will harvest the first profits from a huge investment in hotels.

Compromising an historic wariness of foreigners with a hunger for hard currency, the Russians are opening up their country. This summer they are allowing Alaska Airlines to take 1,000 Americans to cities across Asia. But they also warn their people in radio broadcasts to be watchful for CIA officials and Zionists who pose as tourists.

The visitors will see little that the spy satellites haven't seen already, so nothing will be lost and dollars will be gained. But what is being lost is a chance to translate this unofficial moment into deeper understanding through the medium of the cultural exchange.

This program was the first breakthrough in cold war relations, but it is faltering on every front. The current agreement ends in December, and the Russians are vague on whether they will renegotiate. An American exhibit on research and development, scheduled for a year of display throughout the U.S.S.R., lan-

guishes in crates because the Russians demand an extra \$360,000 to cover its expenses.

This overcharge is retribution for the high labor expenses which the Russians encounter when they set up exhibits in the United States. They have many grievances like the time their director was forbidden by a carpenter's local in Chicago to drive a nail. They seem undecided whether to go ahead with an exhibit they had planned on folk art.

The exchange is declining in other ways. Both sides are withholding visas for correspondents under a tit-for-tat theory. Time magazine has no man here because of its part in publishing Khrushchev's memoirs. American television networks find Moscow coverage less attractive and more expensive. A Soviet TV crew was recently denied access to the United States. The U.S. Embassy has just registered a formal complaint against a Moscow TV show which carried critical comments on Nixon.

The irritations are varied. The Russians dislike attempts by American correspondents to penetrate the arcane mysteries of Kremlin politics. "You write about your politicians," said one official. "Leave ours alone." They are reluctant to reciprocate the tourist invasion because American travel costs are high and they have no particular urge to expose their young to Western ways.

For their part, American officials have found no alternative to the stately process of reciprocity. This means: "We do for you what you do for us." The dealings harden as confusion grows over who did what to whom. But reciprocity yields leverage and, where no other leverage is available, it seems indispensable.

The outrages by the Jewish Defense League have caused much of the disaffection. Russians working in the New York Intourist office were warned by telephone on Friday that they would all be dead by yesterday. The visit by the Bolshoi Ballet was canceled, the Omsk Choir was menaced repeatedly, and pianist Vladislav Richter told people here, after his last tour of America, that he would never go back.

Despite the unpleasant incidents at the U.S. Embassy gates and the tight restrictions under which foreigners live in Moscow, the American in the Soviet Union is treated better today than the Russian in America. It is perfectly reasonable for Soviet officials to complain bitterly that the Americans have not done more to stop these minority harassments.

So the climate of unofficial relations is souring badly while the leaders on both sides reach for agreements. All the gains in cultural ties are being worn down by the abrasions. The time is ripe for a new initiative to revive the cultural bonds which have held through some difficult times.

# Will Radio Liberty Be Silenced?

STATINTL

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the San Diego Union

Munich, Germany:—Is Radio Liberty going to be sacrificed on the altar of Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*?

It's not likely, say the men on Munich's Arabella Street. But they may be overconfident.

Rumors have circulated ever since the advent of the Social Democrat regime in Bonn in 1969 that Soviet and satellite pressures might close the Munich operations of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. They persist despite official denials here, in Bonn and in Washington.

The permits to operate are renewable each year. As 1972 approaches the situation becomes more tense.

Munich will host the 1972 summer Olympics and the Russians as well as some satellites have intimated they would not send their teams to compete if the "hostile" stations continue to broadcast from the city.

It's unlikely that they will carry out the threat. The prestige of the Olympics overshadows the pinpricks of these stations, but the Reds will try.

"Sport is of too much propaganda value to the Russians," said one Liberty official. "I cannot see them missing the Olympic games, no matter what."

Established in 1953, Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union in 18 languages, from Spain, West Germany and Taiwan with a combined power of 1.84 million watts. It covers an area containing an estimated 175 million people.

Its strength lies in its programming. In fact, it is a "Russian" station that broadcasts from abroad. It concentrates more than any other Western station on events inside the Soviet Union. These events are assessed and interpreted by some 200 former Soviet citizens.

The Kremlin leaders don't like it. It's no mere coincidence that it is the only Western broadcaster to the Soviet Union that has been denied a clear channel by the Soviet government.

To confuse the jammers, Radio Liberty changes its short-wave frequencies and hours of transmission four times a year.

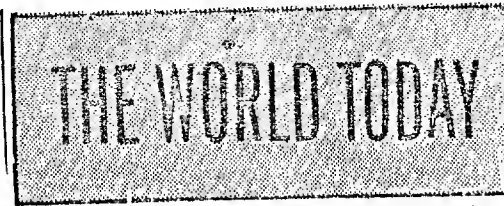
Radio Liberty defends its position vis-à-vis the West German authorities by emphasizing that its policy is that "of an adviser not an agitator." It says it criticizes those aspects of the Soviet regime which are totalitarian, inhuman and fettered by Communist dogma, but it does not attempt to lay down a master plan for the resolution of Soviet society.

"We act as a source of information abroad that gives news not readily available to the ordinary Soviet citizen," says Radio Liberty.

Even such a bland, non-aggressive tone could hardly suit the Kremlin rulers, especially since resistance within the country has become more widespread and vocal. Information transmitted by Radio Liberty appears frequently in the Soviet underground press *samizdat*.

"The party apparatus," say officials here, "is desperately attempting to insulate its subjects from outside influences and internal ferment."

This makes truth in itself a dangerous enemy to the Soviet rulers. The pressure on Brandt will increase.



RADIO FREE EUROPE and Radio Liberty which beam propaganda to Eastern Europe will no longer be financed by the CIA, the Senate Appropriations Committee decided. The committee approved an amendment authorizing the USIA to support the stations.

## *The Essential Business of Radio Free Europe*

Radio Free Europe, which undertakes to tell East Europeans the news about themselves that their own controlled media withhold, is under harsh political attack for that reason from governments of some of the East European countries it broadcasts to. It may face an even greater peril, however, from the confusion of efforts underway in Washington to end its covert financing by the C.I.A. and to finance and operate it on a new open basis. The situation has got to be taken into hand quickly, for as matters stand, funds will run out for RFE—and for Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union—quite soon. The two stations are much too valuable to be lost in a summer haze.

East European governments resentful of RFE's broad appeal to their populations have long stewed and fulminated about it—along with pulling such dirty tricks as putting poison in the salt shakers of its Munich headquarters. They could do little more, until Willy Brandt opened his policy of reconciliation with the East. Then, sensing an opportunity for leverage, they said that his *Ostpolitik* and RFE are incompatible. In fact, they are not, but Germany was embarrassed. Once Mr. Nixon made clear his position that American troops and American radios in Germany are part of a package, however, Bonn diplomatically told the protesting East Europeans to cool down.

Some East European governments bored in harder when Senator Clifford Case stated publicly what almost everybody had known for years—that the C.I.A. finances RFE (and Radio Liberty). Poland, for instance, called upon the United States last month to put RFE off the air.

Senator Case's point was to get RFE out in the open and so he offered a bill to finance it by direct appropriations, through the State Department. The administration, correctly contending that much of RFE's audience appeal lies in its appearance of independence from the American government, countered with a bill to set up a publicly funded "private" corporation to run both RFE and RL.

(West Germany, for its own reasons, favors the latter approach.) In the meanwhile, there arose on Capitol Hill legitimate questions about the cost of the stations, their research functions, their relationship to other American propaganda and cultural programs, and their coordination with political efforts for detente. The administration did not allow enough time for Congress to cope adequately with these questions and, as a result, the stations are now hanging by the thread of a continuing resolution which provides funds only until August.

We do not have dogmatic views on the kind of organizational home the stations ought to have or on the size of their budgets or the scope of their non-broadcasting activities. We would like to make the emphatic point, however, that RFE and RL do an extremely important job and, in our judgment, do it well.

RFE still carries an image of irresponsibility dating from its indeed-irresponsible words of encouragement to Hungarian rebels in 1956. Together, RFE and RL have the reputation of being the voices of bitter emigres and primitive anti-Communists. The two stations, however, have considerably changed and they can no longer be fairly accused of the sins of their past. What they do now is to communicate directly with the people of East Europe who want to listen to them in order to learn what they cannot learn from their own captive press and radio. The stations do not incite to revolution or preach anti-Communism; they say what is going on in East Europe. It would be an unpardonable breach of faith with the stations' millions of listeners to deny them their choice of radio fare.

Detente, if it means anything, means widening the West's contacts with the East, not helping the East to seal off its people from the West. It means the exchange of people, goods, words and ideas. This is the essential business of RFE and RL. The Congress, in its rightminded determination to shake the stations free of the CIA, should not lose sight of the reason for letting them continue it.

19 JUNE 1971

## THE OLYMPIC SCENE

Bar of Rhodesia sought,  
African nations lead fight

African nations will take whatever means necessary, including a possible boycott, to protest the illegal invitation of racist Rhodesia to take part in the 1972 Summer Olympics at Munich.

This was again made clear at Thursday's meeting of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa, which was attended by a delegation from the Supreme African Council for Sports.

The delegation reported to the meeting on specific steps the council will take in connection with the fight to keep Rhodesia out of the Olympic movement.

Abraham Ordia, chairman of the Supreme Africa Council for Sports, told reporters after the meeting. "We declare again that we protest against racial discrimination in all fields. In this connection we regard the expulsion of racialists from the International Olympic Committee as one of the main results of our effort."

Ordia charged that certain circles hostile to Africa are trying to use sports as a blow at African unity. "They cannot succeed in this," he added. "Sports in Africa are now an important and effective instrument for strengthening unity, friendship and brotherhood of the Africans, above all, the youth," he continued.

"Sports promote mutual understanding, help overcome tribal, national and other barriers among the people. We can say with great satisfaction that the Organization of African Unity highly values our efforts that help create the spirit of unity among the African peoples," Ordia said.

Protests against various aspects of the preparations for the 1972 Olympics continue to grow. There

has been wide protest among athletes and sports officials in the socialist countries of eastern Europe over the fact that the West German government does not plan to curb the activities of two U.S. radio stations based in Munich. The two, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, are well known CIA fronts and both engage in attempts to spread anti-communist propaganda to the neighboring socialist countries.

In addition, there is widespread disapproval over the Olympic Manual published recently in West Germany, which is being used in some of the schools there. The manual is said to distort history and contains nationalist and revanchist ideas. It is also said to whitewash German militarism and the Hitler period.

An Algerian soccer coach, Ahmed Makfour, is the latest to speak out against the manual. "If the Munich Olympic cease to play the role of the peace sports competition of world youth, if they are falsified in the spirit of self-publicity of the sponsoring country, there will remain just nothing of the Olympic idea..."

Makfour goes on to urge that "The sportsmen, all honest people of the world must come out against such attempts at directing the younger generation along an incorrect road. They must rise against such attempts, for the good of the Olympic ideas, for the good of peace."

With a year left until the Olympics are scheduled to take place, it may be expected that the protests will intensify.

16 JUN 1971

# Hits CIA Olympic threat

Olympic swimming champion Galina Stepanova has spoken out in protest against the West German government's extension of licenses of "Radio Free Europe" and "Radio Liberty." The two U.S. stations are based in Munich, site of the 1972 Summer Olympics.

"I was surprised to learn about the decision of the West German government to prolong licenses for the American radio stations in Munich, 'Free Europe' and 'Liberty,'" she wrote this month in a young Communist publication in the USSR. "Indeed, everybody knows that the dirty work of these radio stations is financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and is directed by it."

Both stations broadcast anti-communist propaganda aimed at people living in the socialist

countries of Europe. "The 'Free Europe' and 'Liberty' stations," continues Stepanova, "are mouthpieces of Cold War which are engaged daily in hostile propaganda against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

"What these radio stations are doing is incompatible with the slogans of peace and friendship, which are the motto of the Olympic movement. And it is in Munich that the flame of the 20th

Summer Olympics is to be lit in a year's time."

"Preparing for the Olympics, Soviet athletes want to see Munich's Olympic horizon cloudless and unfouled by any insinuations from the 'Free Europe' and 'Liberty' radio stations. We want the Olympic Games to be held in a spirit of peace and good neighborliness, mutual respect and genuine friendship."

"We can't comprehend the decision of the West German authorities to prolong in Munich, the Olympic capital, the activities of two foreign radio stations which are carrying on shameless propaganda in the interests of the American intelligence agency."

"Do the Munich authorities really want gentlemen from the CIA to continue to sow enmity between countries and peoples during the Olympic Games? This question is now asked by Soviet athletes."

Stepanova, who had the best times in the world last year in the women's 100-meter and 200-meter breaststroke competition, will be one of 10 Soviet swimmers visiting the U.S. next month to compete in the fifth annual Santa Clara International Meet. The team will also include Nikolai Pankin, world record-holder in the men's 100-meter breaststroke.

The team will arrive in time to compete in the meet, which will be held July 9-11, along with teams from Japan, Australia and several European teams. The best swimmers in the U.S. will be on hand in what could be a prelude to next year's Olympic swimming competition.

It will be the first time that a Soviet swimming team will compete in the U.S.



16 JUN 1971

STATINTL

## Raoul Gheorghiu, Refugee, Interpreter for State Dept.

Raoul D. Gheorghiu, 61, a contract interpreter with the State Department, died after an apparent heart attack Sunday in Honolulu, where, he was escorting an African visitor to the United States. He lived at 1111 Arlington Blvd., Arlington.

Mr. Gheorghiu held a law degree from the University of Bucharest in his native Romania and had practiced law there. At one time he was assistant to the

Romanian minister of justice.

He and four friends escaped from Romania after the Communists came to power, commandeering a Russia-bound plane to Turkey.

He later worked with the Romanian government in exile in London and in the early 1950s in Paris received a doctor of laws degree from the Sorbonne and a Ph.D. from the School of Advanced International Studies.

After arriving penniless in New York City, Mr. Gheorghiu worked for Radio Free Europe and from 1952 to 1959 was a legal analyst to the European Law Project at the Library of Congress. In 1958 he received a degree in comparative law from George Washington University.

Mr. Gheorghiu later was a part-time stockbroker, a consultant to persons having claims in Romania and a free lance writer of radio and broadcast scripts for the Voice of America. He had been a contract interpreter since 1960.

His wife, the former Barbara Shaw, is executive director of the Hospitality and Information Service, a volunteer organization for diplomats. He also leaves two sisters in Romania.

Services will be held Friday in St. Dumitru Romanian Orthodox Church in New York City. The family requests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the church's refugee fund.

11 JUN 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-

Echoes of Cold War*A New Rationale  
For "Free" Radios*

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

CONGRESS is talking about a new method of financing Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the until-now CIA-financed "private" stations broadcasting respectively to East Europe and the Soviet Union, and this is important, but it ought to be talking about a new rationale for the stations too. For RFE and RL have a real political value which, in the mild excitement of removing the CIA's fingerprints, has been widely passed by.

Briefly, in the past RFE and RL were American propaganda outlets intended to penetrate the politico-electronic iron curtain of intimidation and jamming in East Europe and Russia. They reached out directly to the populations and tried to make it hard for the Communist governments to consolidate their rule. Cold warriors controlled the stations, bitter political emigres manned them, intelligence operatives exploited them.

Whether this was ever wise or necessary or worthwhile is a fair question. It is unquestionable, however, that by providing hard news and an alternative view—along with the rest—the stations helped fill a huge gap for East Europeans and Russians who otherwise were limited to the controlled media of their governments. The more so since the RFE-RL specialty was internal Communist affairs, an area of the news which official Western stations like Voice of America or BBC tended to skimp in order to avoid charges of intervening in domestic affairs.

Nor is this just a matter of the past. To judge by the scope of jamming efforts and political assaults by Eastern governments, as well as by the responses of listeners, RFE and RL continue to command significant audiences. They do so because those governments still do not offer a diet of straight news and serious comment adequate to the tastes of normally curious citizens. They could kill RFE and RL overnight if they did. RFE abruptly lost half its Czech audience in the Prague spring of 1968, *Der Spiegel* reported. The Soviet invasion gave the whole audience back.

IN THE West's unfolding interest in detente, Moscow and like-minded allies have found a new gun to shoot at RFE and RL. They have been aided by the fact that both stations have major facilities in West Germany, whose government has committed itself to easing strains with the East. The Soviet bloc has warned, in a threat taken seriously nowhere, that its athletes may boycott the 1972 Olympics in Munich if the stations are not leased. Typically, Poland recently complained to West Germany that RFE and RL are "a remnant of the cold war that cannot be squared with the new atmosphere in

For their impact such protests lean heavily on the largely obsolete but still widespread Western reputation of RFE and RL as cold war trumpets. Senator Fulbright, for instance, apparently unaware of the way the venom has been drawn from the stations over the last 10 or so years, calls them "an instrument to keep alive the animosities of World War II." They "stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia," he said.

If these radios were in fact still doing the job Mr. Fulbright believes they are, then the United States would have no business financing them, either covertly through the CIA (a 20-year practice the Nixon administration has agreed to halt, at the bidding of Sen. Clifford Case), or overtly through the publicly funded "private" corporation the administration wants Congress to create for that special purpose.

RFE, though, alone informed Poles that as a consequence of the Warsaw treaty with Bonn, citizens of German origin could apply for emigration to West Germany, *Der Spiegel* noted. RL regularly broadcasts documents of the Soviet dissenters, who are censored and jailed at home. Their staples are items culled from the media of the listening countries themselves.

It should be added that a principal task of such a new corporation would be to ensure that the stations do not "keep alive animosities" and "stir up trouble" and that their programs are coordinated, in cost as well as content, with other arms of American policy.

THE REAL issue is: What, after all, is "detente?" To Moscow, it means Western acceptance of the Soviet style in "its" half of Europe. It means confirming the postwar division of the continent not only in terms of blocs but in terms of values. It means, in a word, anti-Europe.

To us, detente is, or ought to be, a very different creature. It is the re-establishment of a sense of continental community in which individual nations, East and West, can define for themselves the quality of their own lives and the quality of their mutual relations. It is, in a word, Europe.

Testifying recently for the RFE-RL bill, Assistant Secretary of State Marin Hillenbrand argued that broadcasts strengthen the human-needs lobbies in Russia and East Europe and their growth may make it possible for us "further to reorder our own priorities." This is an excessive claim. Hillenbrand's more persuasive point was that in the ongoing East-West political negotiations, what is finally at stake is a basis for Europeans to build "natural and normal" links with each other. In that context, he suggested, lies the contribution of RFE and RL.

Surely this is the right claim. We should no longer be fighting the cold war. We cannot in good faith promise relief to the people of East Europe and Russia. It would be folly to intervene in any hostile way. But it would be unthinkable to accept Moscow's contention that normal civilized contacts and efforts to restore traditional ties amount to hostile intervention. There is no less intrusive and, from a Western standpoint, no more apt kind of intervention than a radio broadcast. It is the essence of our society to offer individuals a choice: the propaganda that can turn its own radio set on or off.

STATINTL

10 JUN 1971

## Poisoning the Olympic air

When Munich was chosen as the official site of the 1972 Summer Olympics, the International Olympic Committee made a call to prevent the poisoning of the atmosphere in the city of the future Olympics. That call, according to observers, is not being heeded, and the main culprits are two U.S. radio stations in that city.

Reporting from Bonn, Tass correspondent Yuri Borisov writes that "the radio stations continue waging a subversive campaign of propaganda against the socialist countries." Borisov says that the two stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, engage in round-the-clock slander against the European socialist countries.

Opposition to the activities of the two stations, Borisov reports, exists in various quarters in West Germany. Recently, Chancellor Willy Brandt called it "absurd" that 25 years after the end of the war foreign states continue to conduct radio propaganda against third countries from the territory of West Germany. Despite this admission, West German officials have taken no measures against these radio stations.

Pressed on this question at a press conference in Bonn, a government spokesman insisted that the Government does not have the power to restrict the activities of the two stations. But Borisov

points out that Article 26 of the West German Constitution declares that "Actions that can disrupt the peaceful life of the peoples... are unconstitutional."

Obviously the West Germans do not wish to antagonize the U.S. Government by ending the licenses of these two stations. Recently the activities of the two stations were studied by the Government but the results of that analysis have been kept secret.

According to Borisov, "it is well known that 'Free Europe' and 'Liberty' radio stations are actually branches of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States and are financed by it." Rejecting the U.S. claim that the stations have been taken out of the sphere of the CIA, Borisov calls it "a gimmick that had the purpose to mislead the public and to weaken criticism directed at the Government."

Opposition to the activities of the two stations has come from the Bavarian branch of the Ger-

man Peace Union, which recently addressed a letter to a Munich newspaper. The letter states, "As the Olympic Games are drawing nearer, it becomes more obvious that they are endangered by the existence of two big leftovers of the old War on the territory of Munich — the U.S. radio stations 'Free Europe' and 'Liberty.'"

Supporters of the Olympic movement in East Germany and other socialist countries have also been waging a strong protest. In addition to radio propaganda, the stations and their personnel are expected to be sources of intrigue and subversion during the Olympics. Such activities can only endanger the chances of staging a successful Olympics where the athletes of the world compete with one another on a friendly basis.

The activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty run counter to Olympic ideals. In a situation already made tense by the fact that Munich itself is a stronghold of neo-Nazi sentiment in West Germany, the activities of these CIA radio stations could prove disastrous.

SEATTLE, WASH.  
TIMES

E - 244,776

S - 310,357

JUN 10 1971

## 'Free radios' merit support

THERE is general support—including that of the Nixon administration—for the move now afoot in Congress to remove Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty from the jurisdiction and covert financial backing of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The point of present dispute turns on the question of whether the two controversial stations should continue to operate at all. (Radio Liberty broadcasts in native languages to the Soviet Union, while Radio Free Europe does the same to the satellite countries.)

*In our view, the evidence suggests that the stations provide a useful service that merits the modest, open — not secret as heretofore — government subsidy proposed in legislation now before Congress.*

The stations provide millions of listeners in Eastern Europe with news and features that give them a balanced view of world

events unattainable in their controlled press.

This in turn leads to immeasurable but clearly felt pressures on East European governments to move in the direction of more open societies and to be more amenable to contacts with the West.

*As a Radio Free Europe official once put it, "When the Communist regimes provide enough information through their own news media to satisfy their own citizens, no one will bother to listen to us and there won't be any reason for us to exist."*

The day has long since passed when Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty could be accused, with some apparent justification, of inciting East European peoples to hopeless revolt.

We think the stations merit open government support, under congressional control, as would be provided in the bill now under consideration.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.  
INQUIRER

M - 463,503  
S - 867,810

JUN 9 1964

Get the Truth!

## 'Cover Stories' Are Still in Use

From the UPI Reporter

Don Michel, a broadcast journalist who operates Radio Station WRAJ in Anna, Ill., was left more angry than surprised by the recent disclosure that the CIA provided most of the financing for Radio Liberty and its special broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Michel got to wondering back in 1964 whether Radio Liberty was sustained by more than individual or corporate contributions. His station had been using a series called "Communism on the Spot" produced by the Radio Liberty Committee. Mr. Michel wrote the committee on Aug. 24, 1964, to report on his usage and to ask how Radio Liberty was financed.

The answer came back on Sept. 2 on a committee letterhead that listed Herbert Hoover, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower as honorary chairmen.

"Radio Liberty's funds," the letter said, "come largely from foundations and corporations, though we also receive contributions from the general public." Then, after naming the officers and calling attention to the distinguished men serving as trustees and chairmen, the letter added:

"We are an autonomous station and operate entirely on our own and have no connection with any agency, though every now and then someone tries to tie us up with the government or a governmental agency."

Mr. Michel regarded the response as less than categorical; he thought that "contributions from the general public" might be a euphemism for tax revenues. So on Oct. 12 he pursued the matter in another letter that asked: "Does Radio Liberty receive any funds, directly or indirectly, from the U. S. Government or any of its agencies? The question at first glance may seem to have been an-

swered by your letter but I would appreciate a direct reply as stated."

The response, dated Oct. 15, 1964, said: "Replying to the query contained in your letter of October 12, the answer is 'no.'"

In a recent letter, Mr. Michel recalls other instances—the U-2 episode; the Bay of Pigs and some incidents in the Indochina war—where the truth has been denied on grounds that a half-truth or even a falsehood best serves the national interest. Noting that this has happened, during both Democratic and Republican administrations, Mr. Michel says:

"At any rate I imagine the policy of allowing falsehoods has not done much to sustain respect for authority in our country, and it reminds me that there is absolutely no substitute for the truth . . . I believe one of our foremost concerns in news should be to continually seek to expose those falsehoods for what they are, regardless of from whom they come."

STATINTL

### Radio Free Europe

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee put off action on a measure to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under the congressional authorization and appropriation process.

Committee Chairman J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) told reporters there is strong opposition, including his own, to the Nixon administration's proposal to funnel federal funds through a new corporation to the two stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe.

Fulbright said the only justification for the two stations apart from the Voice of America was that they are "private," but he said that this was ended with the revelation they were financed largely with funds from the Central Intelligence Agency.

S 6  
Egyp

8 JUN 1971

STATINTL

## Should we?

By Joseph C. Harsch

State  
of the  
nations

Last Christmas the people of the seaports of Poland went on strike against raises in food prices. In some cases they occupied and held the dock areas for several days. It came close to being a civil war, and a lot of both protesters and police got hurt.

The political result of this sudden outburst of popular resentment was the overthrowing of the existing regime. The Gomulka leadership went out. It was replaced by a totally new, although still faithfully Communist, leadership.

## Radio Free Europe

A role was played in this by an institution most Americans have forgotten about, if they ever knew.

Radio Free Europe is a broadcasting service with its main studios in Munich and its transmitters in Germany and Spain.

During the Polish rising it was feeding out in Polish to Poland all the information it could gather about events in Poland. It is estimated that up to 90 percent of all radio receivers in Poland were tuned to Radio Free Europe during that season; and that the Polish people got their first news and most of their subsequent news of what was happening inside their own country from Radio Free Europe.

Radio Free Europe has not, since the Hungarian rising of 1956, directly or indirectly incited the peoples of Eastern Europe to rebellion against their Communist governments. How much incitement there was before then is a matter of argument. After that firm orders were given against

inciting to rebellion. One presumes that they have more or less been obeyed.

## Original purpose

But the Polish Government is extremely unhappy about the continued broadcasting into Poland of Radio Free Europe programs. It does not like information about events in Poland reaching Polish people from sources which Warsaw cannot control. This spring the Polish Government took action in the form of requesting the Government of West Germany to cancel the license for Radio Free Europe.

Bonn ducked that issue by deciding that the request was too late for the current year. The license was "automatically" renewed until July of 1972.

Meanwhile the State Department has gone to Congress with a request for putting Radio Free Europe and its twin, Radio Liberty, on a new and entirely overt and public basis.

Both broadcasting systems were set up by CIA during the early days of the "cold war." They were set up in theory as private operations which were long supposed to be funded by private citizens. In fact, private contributions have never paid more than a token part of the costs. CIA ran them out of its own secret funds.

The original purpose of Radio Free Europe was to stimulate dissatisfaction with the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe. The original purpose of Radio Liberty was to do the same in Russia itself.

From the American Gov-

ernment's point of view these radio news services are providing information about events in Russia and Eastern Europe which their people cannot obtain from domestic sources.

From the point of view of the governments on the receiving end this purveying of information unobtainable over local news services amounts to attempted subversion.

## Is it worth it?

There is a secondary function. RFE and RL are convenient stopping-off places for refugees from Russia and Eastern Europe. The offices in Munich are largely staffed with such people for whom it amounts to a decompression chamber.

All of this is a form of interference in the internal affairs of other countries. But the Russians, to the best of their ability, do the same to Western countries. The difference seems to be that the American programs over RFE and RL enjoy more "audience acceptance" than do the Communist programs coming westward.

The CIA is getting out of this kind of activity. The "cover" was "blown" long ago. If it is to be done it ought to be done openly.

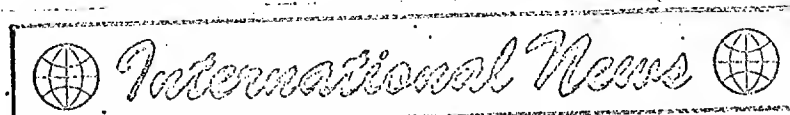
The cost to the American taxpayer to keep RFE and RL going is estimated at \$40 million per year. It has to be done by the taxpayer. Private sources simply don't get that interested in this cause.

Is it worth that much to American taxpayers?

That is what Congress is right now trying to decide.



STATINTL



### Chile's intellectuals defend Cuba

SANTIAGO DE CHILE—Eighty prominent Chilean intellectuals issued a statement in Santiago on Saturday condemning those who lent their names and talents to an imperialist-inspired slander campaign against Cuba. The statement was in direct reference to the so-called "Padilla case" in Cuba, and pointed out that poet Heberto Padilla had admitted he slandered the Cuban revolution and had contacts with CIA agents. The Chilean intellectuals sharply attacked a statement issued under the name of French novelist Jean-Paul Sartre and several others protesting Cuba's handling of the "Padilla case."

The Chileans said: "We think the time is ripe for every worker in the cultural field to determine his place and his position in the construction of a new society. There is no room for hesitation on this question. We believe every progressive writer must be a revolutionary and support the people."

"We completely agree with Fidel Castro's remarks that it is necessary to intensify the struggle against imperialist ideology and colonialism in culture. We believe national cultural values must belong to the entire people and not to unrepresentative groups of individuals. We support the Cuban's efforts to build a new socialist society." The statement was signed by Chilean National Literary Award winners Juvencio Valle and Carlos Droguett, writers Guillermo Atlas, Antonio Scarmeta, Gonzalo Rojas, painters Jose Balnes, Guillermo Nunez and 73 other Chilean intellectuals.

### New U.S. radio station in Greece

SALONIKA, Greece—The U.S. and the Greek fascist junta last weekend signed a new agreement extending the broadcast rights of the Voice of America radio station for another 14 months and providing for the establishment of a new VOA station at Kavalla, in northwestern Greece. The new station is very powerful (2,500 kilowatts) and will be backed up by a "Radio Free Europe" station which is to be set up nearby. Radio Free Europe is a branch of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Reasons for the moves closer to the Yugoslav border were not disclosed.

*BEST COPY*  
*Available*

3

DAILY WORLD  
5 JUNE 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

STATINTL



HOUSE VOTES CONGRESS TO CREATE A TAX-EXEMPT, TAXPAYER-FUNDED \$40 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO  
PROP UP RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY



31

56  
894

5 JUNE 1971

## CIA-free Radio?

Everyone knew it but few people, in the United States at least, have acknowledged that Radio Free Europe and a less well-known station called Radio Liberty have been financed by the Central Intelligence Agency since they were created in the early 1950s. Both are based in Munich, Radio Liberty broadcasting to the Soviet Union and RFE to the rest of eastern Europe, except Yugoslavia. Ostensibly they have been supported by private philanthropy. The polite silence was broken in January when Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey deplored the fact that several hundred million dollars of government funds had been poured from the secret budgets of the CIA to keep the two stations going without Congress ever being allowed to express its opinion of the expenditure. President Nixon took the point. His Administration has endorsed a bill which would create a private corporation, bolstered by about \$40 million a year and directed by private citizens, to enable the broadcasts to be continued without their dubious sponsor.

The two stations are more popular with eastern European audiences than is the Voice of America, the official propaganda broadcasting station of the American government. Their programmes broadcast by nationals, in the language of the intended audience, contain news and information about the countries concerned, not about the American way of life. As the two stations operate with powerful transmitters and use a number of different frequencies, they manage to be heard, in spite of such sporadic jamming as occurs. The eastern European countries, Poland particularly, have protested to the west German government for allowing them to continue.

The stations are unquestionably a product of the cold war and for that reason Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would like them stopped altogether. He feels that this kind of activity thwarts the President's objective of improving relations with Russia; he also doubts whether the CIA influence could be eliminated along with its money. But even Mr Fulbright concedes that Congress will probably prefer to keep the stations on the air.

STATINTL

STATINTL

## Who Needs It?

Institutions have their just claims, but is the claim to perpetuity one of them? Bureaucracy often thinks so: there are careers to further, nests to feather. That is the only plausible explanation for the Administration's request that Congress keep alive Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the allegedly private propaganda stations in West Germany which heretofore have been financed through the Central Intelligence Agency. Apparently the CIA cover has worn so thin that the Administration wants to peel it off altogether, subsidize the stations openly, and put them under the control of a nonprofit corporation, the directors of which would be appointed by the President. The cost to taxpayers would be about what it is now, \$40 million a year.

Who needs it? That is what quizzical senators were trying to find out at hearings last week when they questioned the State Department's representative, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Martin Hillenbrand. Surely not to encourage revolt in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. What then? If the function of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is to broadcast news and commentary world-wide that is to the liking of the US government, we have the Voice of America. And if VOA broadcasts are not doing the job properly, why not remedy that?

Mr. Hillenbrand was hard-pressed. He preferred to discuss some of these questions in executive session. He did say that "in contrast to international radios which are identified as government agencies, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are able to report and comment on the domestic affairs of other nations, much as would any commercial medium operating in a democracy." But if these two stations are to be financed openly by the US government and operated by directors appointed by the President of the United States, would they not be "identified as government agencies"?

3 JUNE 1971

# Broadcasts Continue From Bonn

## U.S. Stations Get Renewals

Miami Herald-Los Angeles Times Wire

BONN — West Germany has no plans at this time to cancel the operating rights of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, government spokesmen have said.

Licenses for both radio stations, which fall due in July, will be automatically renewed. Government spokesman Ruediger von Wechmar told the press that there would be no discussion of the future of the stations at least until the U.S. Congress had decided on how to further finance them.

Both came into the limelight recently when Sen. Clifford Case (R., N.J.) charged they were financed by the Central Intelligence Agency.



Sen. Case  
... attacked funds

The cry was taken up with vigor behind the Iron Curtain.

MOST RECENTLY, Poland demanded of both West Germany and the United States that the stations be closed down. In a note to West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, his counterpart Stefan Jedyrchowski said Radio Free Europe was a hate source that was damaging the process of normalization of relations between the two countries.

Czechoslovakia and East Germany have sharply stepped up their campaigns against RFE lately, with the East Germans charging that the station, which is based in Munich, is threatening the Olympic games due to be held there in 1972. The Poles have also started jamming RFE again for the first time since 1956.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts to the five East European Communist states closely allied with Moscow: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. Radio Liberty broadcasts exclusively to the Soviet Union.

BOTH MAINTAIN large and expensive headquarters in Munich and broadcasting stations in West Germany and the Iberian Peninsula. Neither chose to comment on Sen. Case's charge that together they are receiving more than \$20 million annually in secret CIA funds.

Both stations operate under normal West German licenses, but their origins go back to the so-called residual rights enjoyed by the United States as a former occupation power in West Germany. Bonn is trying gradually to get out from under some of the more out-of-date practices associated with these rights.

The licenses can be discontinued by the Bonn regime by giving three months' notice before the automatic renewal date. Since this passed in April, the licenses will be renewed in July for another year.

A foreign ministry spokesman here said the Polish charges would be thoroughly examined. But at the same time he stressed that freedom of opinion was written into the West German constitution. If the stations violate the constitution, their licenses could be canceled, he said.

BOTH STATIONS have considerably modified their operational tactics in recent years in the direction of conforming with West German laws. Both claim to broadcast only news of interest to Eastern Europeans and legitimate commentaries which stress reasonable dissent.

Both claim to perform important functions in informing East Europeans, whose own radio and press is tightly controlled.

STATINTL

# West Germany Rebuffs Poland on the Future of Radio Free Europe, Hints Station Will Stay in Munich

STATINTL

By JAMES FERRON  
Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, June 2—West Germany has told Poland that Radio Free Europe's broadcasting license has been renewed automatically until July, 1972. In Bonn's first public response to a three-month campaign by Poland to force Radio Free Europe from its Munich site, and perhaps off the air altogether, a West German spokesman said yesterday that

Polish complaints about the station's broadcasts would be examined.

But he added that the West German Constitution insured freedom of expression, indicating that a major Polish complaint—that the station's activities were becoming an obstacle to improved relations between East and West Europe—would be rejected.

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts news and commentary to Eastern Europe, is supported largely by the Central Intelligence Agency and Washington has traditionally been the major target for East European criticism.

The Polish Government aimed its new campaign, not at Washington, but at the Bonn Government, with which it recently concluded a treaty. The treaty remains unratified.

Warsaw's argument has been that the station continues to be engaged in subversion and espionage, an act defined by the Poles in the diplomatic note as "a remnant of the cold war that cannot be squared with the new atmosphere of détente."

The campaign began in early March with the unveiling by Polish authorities of an alleged master spy, Capt. Andrzej Czechowicz, who worked in Radio Free Europe's Polish-language section.

Captain Czechowicz's accounts of intrigue and subversion appeared daily on television, radio and in the news-

papers. The campaign seemed to have reached its peak last week, however, with the dispatch of diplomatic notes to Bonn and Washington.

The Poles have suggested that the station's activities are incompatible with the treaty between Warsaw and Bonn and have hinted that ratification could hinge on the issue. The treaty calls for normal relations between Bonn and Warsaw.

The Polish campaign also coincides with the organizing of the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. Polish officials have sought to emphasize the contradiction between what they call Radio Free Europe's cold war activities and the peaceful nature of the games.

Radio Free Europe and a sister station, Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, say they have a wide audience. Eastern European governments tend to minimize their effect, however.

Radio Free Europe has been jammed in Czechoslovakia since the invasion by Warsaw Pact nations in 1968, ended Alexander Dubcek's liberal rule. It has been jammed in Poland on an intermittent basis since December.

The Hungarian Government, however, tends to ignore it. When Janos Kadar, the Hungarian Communist party leader, was asked about it, he said that the station provided good pop music.

Polish listeners appear to use Radio Free Europe selectively, ignoring the more strident commentaries and gloomy predictions, but depending on it heavily to supplement their own news sources.

The station's audience expands considerably during times of stress, such as the Gdansk or Szczecin riots last December or during secret trials, when published accounts here are meager, misleading or nonexistent.

BALTIMORE, MD.

SUN

M - 177,087

E - 205,425

S - 344,023

JUN 2 1971

## Poland Urging Bonn To Silence U.S. Radio

By JOSEPH R. L. STERNE  
Bonn Bureau of The Sun

Bonn, June 1—West Germany reacted in a reserved manner today to Poland's first government-to-government demand that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty be silenced.

Bonn spokesmen suggested that so long as the Munich-based, American-financed stations do not violate their contracts, their right to broadcast to Eastern Europe is protected by constitutional guarantees of press freedom.

Discussion over Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty was renewed here after the Polish

press agency reported Saturday that Stefan Jedrychowski, the Polish foreign minister, had sent an official letter of protest to Walter Scheel, the West German foreign minister.

The Polish foreign minister reportedly urged West Germany to use "its prerogatives as a sovereign state to put an end to activities of foreign radio stations which disturb Warsaw-Bonn relations.

The statement came two days after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held hearings on proposals to end covert Central Intelligence Agency financing of the two radio stations by

placing them under the control of a semi-official commission answerable to Congress.

### Mixed Reception

Such ideas have received a mixed reception in Western circles here.

One reaction is that open financing will relieve the Bonn government of the embarrassment of the CIA connection with the two stations.

But another is that Communist nations will be able to say Bonn should shut down stations that are no longer ostensibly private but, instead, are the admitted adjuncts of a foreign government.



STATINTL

Ernest H. Fulbrightson

## Turning Down the Volume Unilaterally

Washington.

The cold war is still there.

The President's dramatically announced agreement to seek an agreement with the Russians when the SALT talks resume this summer in Helsinki does not change that fact. Compare Mr. Nixon's preempting of network time at high noon for the announcement (without even waiting for prime time) to the Soviet Union deadpan simultaneous statement in Moscow, and you gain some perspective. You cannot escape the impression that there is less there than he flashed before your eyes.

Neither his overplaying of what is essentially a hope rather than an achievement, nor the contention on the fashionable left that the bad old days of East-West competition are past, change the basic situation.

The film from spy satellites following the pace of Soviet missile installation; the Soviet naval expansion into the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; the pact renewing and widening Soviet-Egyptian collusion in the Middle East; the occasional flare-ups of the old unhealed sore of Berlin—all confirm the cold war as it is, rather than as we would wish it to be.

Complementing it, in fact part of it, is the propaganda war fought via ultra high-powered radio signals

beamed across international boundaries. Fluctuations in the strength of signals, breadth of programming and choice of adjectives faithfully follow ups and downs in the world military and diplomatic situation. Each side is acutely sensitive to the slightest variation in the pattern of propaganda aimed from the other.

This is particularly true in the closed societies of the Soviet Union and, to an increasingly lesser extent, Eastern Europe. Soviet authorities spend approximately as much each year (\$165,000,000) on jamming incoming broadcasts alone as the United States spends on all its U.S. Information Agency activities, worldwide and in every medium. The Voice of America, which devotes only a little over a fifth of its broadcast hours to Russian and Eastern European languages, has a budget of only \$40,000,000.

What has helped even out this competition in years past has been the vigorous programming of two officially non-governmental outlets, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. They have broadcast eastward from Munich with an aggressiveness seldom matched by the decorous Voice of America. The catch was the ill-kept secret that they were financed mostly by the Central Intelligence Agency. I knew it, the Russians knew it, and

many U.S. government employees knew it and laughed about it when they were occasionally solicited for voluntary contributions to its upkeep.

After going along for about 20 years this way, the CIA-RFE-Radio Liberty conglomerate finally got its comeuppance in the Senate. It was long overdue. As Senator Clifford P. Case put it in his bill to end the arrangement, several hundred millions had been spent this way without detailed congressional approval. Thus, the only group toward which secrecy was being maintained was the American taxpayers who financed the scheme the whole while.

Case's move was to end the covert CIA link. The administration suggested that a non-profit corporation be set up to continue the programming. Leave it to Senator J. William Fulbright to take it the ultimate step further, advocating scrapping the whole enterprise.

"If there is any expectation of improving relations with Russia, it seems to me that this kind of activity . . . to continue to stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia, is contrary to the President's own policy. . . ." Fulbright said. He admitted he didn't expect to succeed in dropping the program, but he will back a measure to fund

it openly, in the hope that such an arrangement can be curtailed by Congress next year or the year after.

As he and some of his colleagues are for American embarkation on the road to unilateral disarmament, Fulbright is talking in unilateral terms here, too. The broadcast propaganda level from the Soviet Union is at high pitch, and of course there is nobody from the Supreme Soviet calling for a full accounting of expenditures or for a halt in that effort.

As noted before, propaganda warfare works two ways. And one of the handiest things about it in international politics is its great flexibility—the way in which its beaming strength and content can be changed at the flick of a switch. That makes it a valuable card when negotiations of high importance, SALT for example, reach a crucial stage. To change the tone or intensity of American-supported propaganda often can alter the negotiating climate almost overnight—when such a gesture is timely. But to knife the program willy-nilly, without parallel gestures from the competition or the chance of nudging some sorely sought disarmament clause into life, is shortsighted. Fulbright should know that.

BOSTON, MASS.  
GLOBE

M - 237,967  
S - 566,377

MAY 31 1971

STATINTL

## The way to inform

People should get their news straight. There's no doubt about that. In a dictatorship, as in Russia, the news is controlled. The people there lack the information on which to base action, even if action were possible.

The admirable intent of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, both based in West Germany, was and is to introduce our kind of news across the border into Eastern Europe.

Recently it became known that these stations were in fact secretly financed by the CIA, at great expense, and that American public contributions to them were negligible.

Now the government proposes that the stations be subsidized openly by a government corporation, at

\$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 a year.

Sen. J. William Fulbright questions whether they should continue operating at all.

How effective the stations may have been we don't know. We may assume that if Moscow were broadcasting its brand of news across the American border, few here would listen.

As philosophers and historians could tell us, useful change and improvement in men and nations must come from within. The Russians need more and better news, to be sure, but that's a problem we can't solve from the outside with a radio station or two. Somehow, sometime, they'll have to make a do-it-yourself project of it.

STATINTL

## Poland Asks 'Radio' Curb

WARSAW, May 29—Poland today said it had asked the United States and West Germany to put an end to anti-Polish "Cold War activity" by Radio Free Europe, an American-sponsored broadcasting station in Munich.

The demand was contained in a diplomatic aide-memoire handed by Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Winiewicz to U.S. Ambassador Walter J. Stoessel Jr. in Warsaw Wednesday, the official news agency PAP said.

The document said Poland was convinced that the United States would act to curb Radio Free Europe's activities so as to liquidate sources of irrita-

tion in Polish-American relations.

PAP said that Foreign Minister Stefan Jedrychowski had also sent a letter to his West German counterpart, Walter Scheel saying the Bonn government bore responsibility for allowing the radio station to carry out hostile activity from its territory.

The letter said Poland hoped the West German gov-

ernment "will avail itself of its prerogatives as a sovereign state and will put an end to the activity of this foreign radio station which disturbs the process of normalization of relations between the two countries," PAP said.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts programs of news and features to East European Communist countries in their own languages.

MARION, IND.  
CHRONICLE-TRIBUNE

MAY 29 1977  
D - 25,404  
S - 24,898

## Editorials

# Do it right

Last January it was revealed that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, two supposedly nongovernmental, publicly supported operations, have all along been financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1970, for example, the CIA subsidy amounted to 30 million.

The disclosure threw an unfortunate cloak-and-daggerish shadow over these otherwise admirably effective operations.

Created during early Cold War days in the 1950s, both stations broadcast to the millions behind the Iron Curtain, using powerful transmitters in Spain and Portugal.

The mission of Radio Liberty is to reach to the people of the Soviet Union, and that of Radio Free Europe to reach the satellite nations, with news of local and foreign events not reported over Communist government-controlled stations.

As such, they have been "unofficial" voices of the United States. The

official voice, seeking to explain America to the world, is the Voice of America, operated by the U.S. Information Agency.

The Nixon administration, with strong bipartisan backing, is asking Congress to establish a semipublic corporation which would finance Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe through annual appropriations, like the Voice of America, and end the CIA's involvement.

The testimonial to Radio Liberty's worth is that the Soviets constantly jam its transmitters. There is also a severe penalty for Russians caught listening to the broadcasts.

Yet the broadcasts do get through, as shown by the many letters that come via neutral countries to the New York headquarters of Radio Liberty as well as Radio Free Europe.

We must be doing something right. We ought to continue doing it, but the right way--completely out in the open.

PUEBLO, COLO.  
CHIEFTAIN

M - 29,003

MAY 28 1971

## (Acknowledge Our Radio 'Voices')

LAST January it was revealed that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, two supposedly nongovernmental, publicly supported operations, have all along been financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1970, for example, the CIA subsidy amounted to \$30 million.

The disclosure threw an unfortunate cloak-and-dagger shadow over these otherwise admirably effective operations.

Created during early Cold War days in the 1950s, both stations broadcast to the millions behind the Iron Curtain, using powerful transmitters in Spain and Portugal.

The mission of Radio Liberty is to reach to the people of the Soviet Union, and that of Radio Free Europe to reach the satellite nations, with news of local and foreign events not reported over Communist government-controlled stations.

As such, they have been "unofficial" voices of the United States. The official voice, seeking to ex-

plain America to the world, is the Voice of America, operated by the U.S. Information Agency.

The Nixon administration, with strong bipartisan backing, is asking Congress to establish a semi-public corporation which would finance Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe through annual appropriations, like the Voice of America, and end the CIA's involvement.

The testimonial to Radio Liberty's worth is that the Soviets constantly jam its transmitters. There is also a severe penalty for Russians caught listening to the broadcasts.

Yet the broadcasts do get through, as shown by the many letters that come via neutral countries to the New York headquarters of Radio Liberty as well as Radio Free Europe.

We must be doing something right. We ought to continue doing it, but the right way — completely out in the open.

STATINTL

ST. LOUIS, MO.  
POST-DISPATCH

E - 326,376

S - 541,868

MAY 26 1974

### *Poisoned By CIA*

When Congress is looking for places to economize, one of the appropriation items it should examine is the Nixon Administration's proposed \$40,000,000 annual federal subsidy for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which up to now have been financed by a \$30,000,000 allocation from the Central Intelligence Agency. Although the proposed new method of financing has the commendable purpose of severing the CIA's connection with the two stations, the espionage agency has so hopelessly contaminated these supposed voices of freedom that they are now not worth public support.

The basis for mistrust of any project with which the CIA is involved is suggested by the fact, disclosed by Senator Clifford P. Case, that the CIA continued to finance the two stations despite a 1967 presidential directive ordering the agency to end its support of all "educational or voluntary organizations." Moreover, the public's lack of interest in the two stations is suggested by its minimal response to appeals for contributions. More than \$12,000,000 in free advertising solicitations brought in less than \$100,000 a year.

There is even a kind of deception in Representative Ogden Reid's bill to channel public

money to the stations through a nonprofit corporation known as the American Council for Private International Communications, Inc.

Clearly, this project for beaming news and propaganda to Eastern Europe is a victim of the bad news it has made in the United States.

WHEELING, W.VA.  
INTELLIGENCER

M - 21,778

MAY 26 1974

## Expendable

If nothing else, current committee hearings on the financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should serve the useful purpose of raising the question of the propriety of the activity itself.

These two stations, with headquarters and transmitters in West Germany, have been engaged for years in beaming messages to hearers beyond the Iron Curtain designed to improve our image and counteract anti-American propaganda and alleged misinformation emanating from Communist sources.

Although never officially acknowledged, it has been pretty much of an open secret that Central Intelligence Agency money has kept the stations on the air. Now the Administration proposes the creation of a publicly funded private corporation to assume the obligation.

In a formal statement to the Committee at the opening of hearings the other day, Senator Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) asserted: "During the last twenty years several hundred million dollars of United States Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe; yet at no time was Congress asked to or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditures."

The Administration's reaction to the Case statement, voiced by Assistant Secretary of State Hillenbrand, served but to cloud the issue still

## We Could Do Without Propaganda Messages Beyond Iron Curtain

further and emphasize the need for a clearing of the atmosphere. Without admitting that the CIA has been assisting the stations financially, he offered to discuss the history of the facilities and their work in executive session.

This newspaper is disposed to agree with Chairman Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee, who not only called for public disclosure by the Government of its relations with this activity, but questioned the wisdom of continuing it at all.

If, as he observed, there is "any expectation of improving relations with Russia," continuing an operation disposed to "stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia" would seem to run counter to "the President's own policy."

It requires no great confidence in the good will of the Kremlin to question the virtue of the cloak and dagger atmosphere that has surrounded this broadcasting business — and most of the other activity of the CIA for that matter. It is to be doubted that the millions of words we have poured out over these stations, particularly in the under cover fashion employed, have done anything at all to win us friends among the people addressed. Why, then, continue to antagonize an already suspicious officialdom at a time when the Administration professes to be pursuing the cause of American-Soviet rapprochement?

STATINTL

CLEVELAND, OHIO  
PLAIN DEALER

M - 409,414  
S - 545,032

MAY 25 1971

## End Fiction of Radio Funding

The Nixon administration, yielding to such congressional critics as Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., has decided to support Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty openly, rather than covertly through the secret Central Intelligence Agency.

We believe that is the correct course.

The two radio stations beam news broadcasts to the Communist nations of Eastern Europe. Their comment is often critical of Communist officials and policies, in contrast to the Voice of America, which, as the "official" broadcasting arm of the U.S. government, attempts to avoid critical comment.

The two stations purportedly were financed privately by contributions from the American public, industries and founda-

tions, but in fact were largely funded by the CIA, Sen. Case revealed in January. He proposed then that the U.S. government end the fiction and bring the two stations under the congressional appropriations process.

The Nixon administration proposes creation of a nonprofit corporation to finance and supervise the stations, and has called on Congress to appropriate \$40 million a year for their operation.

Case finds the proposal generally acceptable, and much preferable to secret funding. We agree that it is.

While considering the new arrangement, Congress also should look at the Voice of America program, which may well be considered superfluous if Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are to achieve at least semiofficial status.



# (Fullbright Opposes Plan For Propaganda Fund

By WILLIAM MAY

Evening News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — An administration proposal for a new method of funding Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has run into opposition from Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., and Rep. Ogden Reid, R-N.Y., who introduced the administration bill, made clear their reservations about some portions of the legislation at a foreign relations committee hearing yesterday.

But Fulbright went further than that and said he could not support the bill as it was introduced. He praised Case's original purpose in prodding the administration to remove the two stations from funding by the Central Intelligence Agency but added, "Things have taken a turn I didn't anticipate."

## Opposes Mechanism

What aroused Fulbright's opposition was a private corporation manned by presidential appointees and funded openly by federal money.

Case said that the administration agreed that money appropriated for the American Council for Private International Communications Inc. would not be made available to any organization except Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to Russia.

And Congress, he said, must receive "firm assurance that CIA participation in the stations will be terminated."

But Fulbright said he felt the new setup would amount to "just a new cover" for government supervision of the two stations and would continue "a pattern of deception in this field."

## Relates Past Practice

Case told the committee that during the last 20 years several million dollars of government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for the two stations. Yet Congress has not been permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of ap-

proving the expenditure, he said.

Martin Hillenbrand, assistant secretary of state for European affairs, who outlined the administration proposal, said in addition to the government funds the two stations had received funds from private contributors.

But he irked Fulbright by refusing to say how much money the CIA had poured into the stations or even how big a percentage the CIA money was of the total station budgets.

"We will discuss that in executive session," Hillenbrand said.

"There are sensitive areas involving other governments which we believe should be discussed in executive session."

## Questions His Value

"Don't you think this committee is sensitive about being hornswoggled by your department?" Fulbright asked scornfully.

Fulbright questioned the usefulness of Radio Free Europe, arguing that its operation is "stirring up trouble" and is contrary to President Nixon's policy of trying to seek agreement with the Russians on nuclear arms limitation and other matters.

"I don't see what this operation can do that the Voice of America can't do," Fulbright said.

Case said the important thing was to end covert funding of the two stations and to provide some mechanism which would bring the stations "out from under the CIA."

The New Jersey Republican questioned the provision that all appointees to the proposed communications council be made by the President. Congress might have a role in the selection, he said.

He also was dubious about the

provision for an open-ended congressional authorization of funds which would necessitate only annual appropriations. He said he favored specific authorizations which would have to be renewed on an annual basis.

Fulbright repeated he would not support creation of the proposed new council but would vote for a simple authorization of funding for the two radio outlets.

Other committee members who questioned Case, Reid and Hillenbrand did not indicate their immediate reaction to the administration proposal.

SPOKANE, WASH.  
SPOKESMAN-REVIEW

MAY 2 5 1971  
M - 84,759  
S - 127,047

## CIA Radio Funding to End

WASHINGTON (WP) -- The administration Monday announced its support for the creation of a publicly funded private corporation to finance Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, ending their reliance on Central Intelligence Agency money.

As the government moved to end covert financing of the stations which broadcast to Eastern Europe, Sen. J. William Fulbright questioned whether they should continue operating at all.

"If there is any expectation of improving relations with Russia," the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee said, "it seems to me that this kind of activity . . . to continue to stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia is contrary to the President's own policy."

Fulbright challenged efforts to continue the two stations, which have transmitters and headquarters in West Germany, in the first of committee hearings to create a new corporation for funding them. Assistant Secretary of State for European affairs Martin Hillenbrand presented the government's position.

Efforts to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under congressional scrutiny began when Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., proposed that congress end covert CIA financing.

"During the last 20 years," he said in a prepared statement to the committee, "several hundred million dollars of U.S. government funds have been expended from secret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe; yet at no time was congress asked to or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditures."

At no point did Hillenbrand admit that the CIA had financed the stations but offered to discuss the "history" of the operations of the stations in executive session. The offer hit off a renewed effort by Fulbright for public disclosure by the administration of its activities.

# U.S. Backs a Corporation To Fund Radio Free Europe

By Marilyn Berger  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Nixon administration yesterday announced its support for the creation of a publicly funded private corporation to finance Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, ending their reliance on money from the Central Intelligence Agency.

As the government moved to end covert financing of the stations that broadcast to Eastern Europe, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) questioned whether they should continue to operate at all.

"If there is any expectation of improving relations with Russia," the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee said, "it seems to me that this kind of activity... to continue to stir up trouble in Eastern Europe and Russia is contrary to the President's own policy."

Fulbright challenged efforts to continue the two stations, which have headquarters in West Germany, at the start of committee hearings to create a corporation to fund them. Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Martin Hillenbrand presented the government position in testimony to the committee.

Efforts to bring Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty under congressional scrutiny began when Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) proposed that Congress end covert CIA financing.

"During the last 20 years," he said in a prepared statement to the committee, "several hundred million dollars of U.S. government funds have been expended from se-

cret CIA budgets to pay almost totally for these two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe; yet, at no time was Congress asked to or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditures."

Hillenbrand did not admit that the CIA had financed the stations, but he offered to discuss the "history" of the stations in executive session. The offer touched off a renewed effort by Fulbright for public disclosure by the administration of its activities.

"There are certain sensitivities of other governments here," Hillenbrand said.

"The sensitivity," Fulbright replied, "is in the effort to prevent this committee from getting information." Fulbright was raising an old issue of the department's refusal to discuss funding of troops in Berlin. "Has it never occurred to you that Congress and this committee are sensitive too?" he asked.

The committee is now faced with the alternative of finding a formula for financing the radio stations acceptable to the administration or, failing that, with the prospect of the CIA continuing its current role, Fulbright noted privately after the committee session.

The senator said he would favor disbanding both Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe altogether but doubted that sufficient votes could be obtained in Congress. He also expressed concern that, even if CIA financing is ended, it would still be difficult to end CIA influence in the organizations.

The State Department took Case's proposal and developed its own plan for open funding through a non-profit corporation to be known as the American Council for Private International Communications, Inc. Throughout the hearing yesterday Fulbright questioned how the council could operate privately with public funds. According to Case, RFE and Radio Liberty now get \$40 million a year.

Hillenbrand drew an analogy with Public Broadcasting and said that the organization would operate with autonomy under a board of directors and would "not be beholden to the U.S. government for instructions."

Hillenbrand stressed the importance of preserving the "private character" of the stations. "In contrast to international radios which are identified as government agencies," he said, "Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are able to report and comment on the domestic affairs of other nations, much as would any commercial medium operating in a democracy." He said it was also necessary for them to remain private to maintain their present transmitting licenses.

Fulbright said he would not vote for the administration bill to create a private corporation, but would look to a compromise that would provide for open funding. "Then," he said, at least there would be a better opportunity to stop it next year or the next."

Fulbright called the stations "an instrument to keep alive the animosities of World War II."

STATINTL

Martin  
Mathias, Calif.  
Mathias, Ga.  
Mazzoli  
Meeds  
Metcalfe  
Mikva  
Mink  
Minshall  
Mitchell  
Morse  
Murphy, Ill.  
Murphy, N.Y.  
Myers  
Nix  
Passman  
Patman  
Pepper  
Pickle  
Pirnie  
Podell  
Price, Tex.

Pryor, Ark.  
Quillen  
Rangel  
Rees  
Reid, Ill.  
Reuss  
Rhodes  
Roe  
Rousselot  
Roy  
Roybal  
Runnels  
Ruppe  
Sandman  
Scherle  
Shriver  
Skubitz  
Slack  
Smith, Iowa  
Snyder  
Spence

Stanton.  
J. William  
Steele  
Steiger, Wis.  
Stratton  
Stubblefield  
Stuckey  
Sullivan  
Teague, Tex.  
Ullman  
Wampler  
Ware  
Watts  
Whalley  
Wiggins  
Winn  
Wolff  
Wright  
Wyder  
Wyman  
Yatron  
Young, Fla.

Mr. Cabell with Mr. Myers.  
Mr. Mazzoli with Mr. Wampler.  
Mr. Meeds with Mr. McClure.  
Mr. Donohue with Mr. Fulton of Pennsylvania.  
Mr. Dulski with Mr. Halpern.  
Mr. Fascell with Mr. Wyman.

Messrs. ANDREWS of Alabama, JACOBS, BIESTER, McCOLLISTER, KEATING, and ARENDS changed their votes from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

### "DON'T HOLD YOUR BREATH"

(Mr. ROUSH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ROUSH. Mr. Speaker, last week the President and the Secretary of the Interior journeyed to the New York harbor area, there to proclaim the intention of establishing a Gateway National Recreation Area. I am delighted at the addition of such a proposed parkland, for I have long advocated additional recreational areas throughout the Nation, especially in highly populated areas.

In remarks for the press the President noted at that same time that this was "one of the most significant steps that the Federal Government has taken, in cooperation with the State governments, on recreation perhaps in this century." For, he said, this step "moves in the direction that all people who have evaluated our parks and recreation areas believe we should move; and that is, to move to bring parks to the people."

Thus the President once again reaffirmed his promise of a legacy of parks. In his earlier Environment Message to Congress in February he noted "merely acquiring land for open space and recreation is not enough" and had urged that "We must bring parks to where the people are so that everyone has access to nearby recreational areas."

All of this sounds good and I thoroughly agree. However, I must admit to some incredulity. Just this spring I conducted lengthy correspondence with the National Park Service over the fact that the budget for 1972 does not provide 1 penny for the development of another park that is now 5 years old, that has been described by the Interior Department as "ideally suited to fulfillment of the recreational and open space needs of the people of this region," and that would serve another 10 million people.

I refer, of course, to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore which I was proud to author some 5 years ago. The House Interior Committee at that time described and recommended this great national lakeshore thus:

Located at the Southern end of Lake Michigan—less than 50 miles from the Chicago-Gary Industrial complex—the proposed Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore fits the national need like a glove. . . . Nowhere in the Great Lakes is there a greater need for shoreline recreation areas.

That seems to me a resounding endorsement. Yet, like an empty house that

great potential park area awaits recreational facilities, parking lots, roads, trails to become fully useful.

So while I rejoice in the creation of new parks and fully recognize the need for recreation areas in the East, I must ask the question as to where this money will come from? The National Park Service has an 11-point development program criteria for programing projects and planning funds. Where will this project fit? And if we can afford another recreation area, why not develop some of the many parks that are awaiting funds? Do not the people of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois who would use the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore deserve equal treatment?

Or perhaps this project will suffer the same fate as the Indiana Dunes? The Congress proposes but the administration disposes and refuses funds for projects that do not suit political needs.

Last week I discussed the President's massive cancer research program. Obviously my purpose was not to object to cancer research, but to point out once again, as here in the case of parks, the sharp contrast between what the administration does with what it says. The President proposes a vast attack on cancer while he is holding in reserve \$34.5 million in funds for the Regional Medical programs, aimed at attacking not only cancer but the other killer diseases of heart attack and kidney disease.

I fear the park situation may be a repeat situation. I hope the people of New Jersey and New York do not plan on visiting that recreation area anytime in the near future.

### WHY JUST CIA RADIO FUNDS?

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to applaud the Nixon administration for coming to the Congress this morning to seek congressional approval of legislation which would vest the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty in a nonprofit corporation chartered by the Federal Government.

At the same time, however, I would like to suggest that the day for piecemeal adjustment is over—and that much more fundamental surgery is required if the Congress is to play its proper role in assuring that the U.S. Government does not speak with a forked tongue to the world beyond our borders.

I have great respect for the work which Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have performed over the years in carrying the message of truth and freedom to millions of people in Eastern Europe and Asia. To many of those peoples, those two radio stations were the only source of factual information about developments in their own countries and in the world at large.

I am not adverse, therefore, to this kind of dialog. As a matter of fact, in this age of public diplomacy, I believe that it is imperative for the United States to maintain and enlarge commu-

STATINT

1 STATEMENT OF MARTIN J. HILLENBRAND, ASSISTANT  
2 SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

3 Mr. Hillenbrand. I appreciate the opportunity to testify  
4 on this bill to provide for the establishment of a corporation  
5 to be called the American Council for Private International  
6 Communications, Incorporated, which will support private  
7 American organizations active in the field of communication with  
8 foreign peoples. This proposal has the full support of Secret-  
9 ary Rogers.

10 The Council as it is conceived would make grants to  
11 eligible media from funds appropriated by the Congress. The  
12 private nature of the Council is designed to enable the media  
13 which it supports to fulfill their role as objective reporters  
14 and independent commentators, not as spokesmen for the US  
15 Government.

16 The Chairman of the Board of the Council would be appointed  
17 by the President, as would the Vice Chairman and the other  
18 nine members. All would be selected for their ability to ensure  
19 the disbursement of grants in the national interest. The Board  
20 would be responsible for assuring that the officers of the  
21 Council established adequate liaison with the Department of  
22 State.

23 The Council would annually account to the Congress and its  
24 responsible committees for the proper use of grants the Council  
25 makes. Through the involvement and interest of the Council's

1 Board members, all of whom would be appointed from private life  
2 the Council would be able to determine that activities of the  
3 grantees were exclusively those appropriate to mass-media  
4 operations for which they were funded, including news gathering  
5 and analysis.

6 It is foreseen that the Council would use its appropria-  
7 tion primarily to grant funds to two existing private broad-  
8 casting corporations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty,  
9 which are incorporated respectively in the States of New York  
10 and Delaware and which have obtained licenses abroad to trans-  
11 mit programs in their capacity as private organizations.

12 I would like to review briefly with the Committee the  
13 importance of these two radios to the peoples to whom they  
14 broadcast and their value to other peoples, including our own.  
15 who share the view that an informed public is a safeguard of  
16 peace. I would like especially to underline how important  
17 it is that these stations retain their private character.

18 In regard to the significance of these radios, a principal  
19 source for my remarks are my personal observations and those  
20 of my colleagues who have served in the Soviet Union and Eastern  
21 Europe. I know of few matters related to this geographic  
22 area on which there is such a degree of agreement among us who  
23 have served in that area as on the beneficial and constructive  
24 roles of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. The service of  
25 each radio is in essence the same. Radio Liberty provides to

1 the Soviet Union and Radio Free Europe to most of Eastern  
2 Europe a large volume of information and commentary which the  
3 peoples of these countries do not receive from other sources,  
4 but which they need in order to make informed judgments on  
5 public issues. Domestic media in the USSR and Eastern Europe  
6 speak with a single voice, commonly omitting or distorting  
7 coverage of events about which the public has every need to  
8 know. In place of full news accounts, questioning, editorials,  
9 and independent commentary, the daily fare never challenges  
10 policies or goals set by the government nor asks how wisely  
11 the public's money is being spent. A public so deprived of  
12 essential information has difficulty finding ways to promote  
13 its own interests with respect either to domestic or to foreign  
14 issues.

15 It is true that international radio services which function  
16 as agencies of various governments -- the Voice of America, BBC,  
17 Deutsche Welle, Radio transmission et Diffusion Francaise, and  
18 others -- fill a part of this information void. However, out  
19 of well-founded diplomatic considerations, such official govern-  
20 ment radios must take care to avoid the charge of interference  
21 in the internal affairs of other nations.

22 In my view, there are no fundamental conflicts of interests  
23 between the American people and the peoples of the Soviet Union  
24 and Eastern Europe. In many respects, the interest of all these  
25 people can be seen to converge. For them as well as for us,



1 large resources which could be allocated to meet human needs  
2 are siphoned off for the purposes of other policies. It seems  
3 a reasonable assumption that under any system an informed public  
4 can better alter this situation in the interest of its own  
5 welfare than can an uninformed public. I am convinced, as are  
6 many of my colleagues, that the input of information by the  
7 radios into the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe strengthens the  
8 ability of these people to promote their own general welfare.  
9 If these peoples do improve their own welfare, it will be possible  
10 for us further to reorder our own priorities to the benefit of  
11 the American public.

12 Further, let me stress that the sole purpose of the radios  
13 is to disseminate information and to present analysis of that  
14 information which are thoughtful and responsible. Those of us  
15 who have lived in the reception areas credit the radios with  
16 a large measure of success in fulfilling their purpose. This  
17 success is borne out by the large listenerships which the radios  
18 have attracted. RFE broadcasts in the appropriate language 18  
19 hours a day to Poland, 19 to Czechoslovakia, 18 to Hungary, 12  
20 to Romania, and 7-1/2 to Bulgaria. The result of thousands of  
21 interviews conducted by professional, independent polling  
22 organizations with visitors from Eastern Europe in the recent  
23 past indicate that the RFE audience in the five countries named  
24 above is at least 30 million persons. This is about one-half  
25 of the total adult population. In certain countries during



1 periods of crises the percentage of listeners has shot up  
2 dramatically to 80 or 90 percent of the population over the  
3 age of 14. I should add that these large audiences have been  
4 developed notwithstanding extensive efforts to jam broadcasts  
5 A significant proportion of the broadcasts gets through even  
6 where efforts are made to jam them because the effectiveness of  
7 the jamming varies with the time and place, and because of the  
8 tenacity of the listeners.

9 Radio Liberty broadcasts 24 hours a day in Russian, 10 in  
10 Byelorussian, 13 in Ukrainian, 4 in Romanian, 4 in Azerbaijani,  
11 4 in Georgian, 4 in North-Caucasian languages, 4 in Tatar-  
12 Bashkir, and 4 in Turkistani languages. While it is more  
13 difficult to arrive at an accurate estimate of the actual size  
14 of Radio Liberty's listenership, an indication of its effect-  
15 iveness is the effort made by the Soviet government since 1953  
16 to jam around the clock all Radio Liberty frequencies. It is  
17 estimated that the jamming network costs the Soviets over six  
18 times as much annually to operate as the annual budget of  
19 Radio Liberty itself.

20 While estimates of the number of Radio Liberty listeners  
21 are of necessity less precise than those for Radio Free Europe,  
22 there is extensive corroborative evidence which shows that,  
23 like Radio Free Europe, it has a large and tenacious audience.  
24 The costly effort of jamming itself is a clear indicator as are  
25 the thousands of references to the programs of Radio Liberty

1 and Radio Free Europe in the Soviet and Eastern European press.  
2 Also, each year, several thousands of letters addressed to  
3 Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe get past -- or around --  
4 the censor or are sent to them by listeners traveling in the  
5 West. In these, there is an oft-repeated refrain: "Everybody  
6 around here listens to your program. . ." This may be an exag-  
7 geration, but it gives some idea of how widely the broadcasts  
8 of these radios are listened to. Further evidence comes from  
9 foreigners living and working in these countries, who confirm  
10 that these peoples depend on the radios and that a significant  
11 proportion of the broadcasts penetrate the jamming. One of my  
12 colleagues, fluent in Russian, who recently spent a two-year  
13 tour in the Soviet Union, has said that in all his wide travels  
14 in that country he seldom met an individual who did not admit  
15 to listening to Radio Liberty.

16 The final point I would like to emphasize is the importance  
17 of the radios' preservation of their private character. I men-  
18 tioned that, in contrast to international radios which are  
19 identified as government agencies, Radio Liberty and Radio Free  
20 Europe are able to report and comment on the domestic affairs  
21 of other nations much as would any commercial medium operating  
22 in a democracy. This is the unique character of Radio Free  
23 Europe and Radio Liberty and is the key to their continuing  
24 value, for the reasons I have given. Additionally, these  
25 radios are, in order to prolong their present transmitting

1 licenses, obligated to their hosts governments to maintain their  
2 private character. In recent months, Soviet and Eastern  
3 European media have increased their attacks on the radios in an  
4 effort to dislodge them or at least seriously curtail their  
5 services. In reaction, considerable public and media support  
6 for the radios and the principles for which they stand has been  
7 evoked in Europe. That good-will can best be preserved by  
8 enactment of the proposed legislation which will enable the  
9 radios to continue to function effectively with their private  
10 character unimpaired.

11 Mr. Chairman, we are at a point in the evolution of events  
12 in Europe at which we have, perhaps, significant opportunities  
13 for meaningful negotiation. This is a welcome situation. But  
14 we must bear in mind that our quadripartite negotiations for  
15 improvement of the state of affairs in and around Berlin have  
16 not yet been successful after many months of discussion. We  
17 do not intend, however, to stop trying. Our SALT talks in  
18 Vienna have advanced to the point at which, as the President has  
19 said, we have agreed with the Soviet government "to concentrate  
20 on working out an agreement for the limitation of deployment of  
21 anti-ballistic missile systems" and, together with that, "to  
22 agree on certain measures with respect to the limitation of  
23 offensive strategic weapons". It is our hope that we can agree  
24 with the Soviet Union on how to relate these issues and how  
25 to deal with them to mutual advantage. We now have the prospect

1 of exploring another major issue -- mutual balanced force  
2 reductions. Mr. Brezhnev has told us, however, that we must  
3 drink from that bottle before we find out what wine is  
4 in it.

5 Much more than an atmosphere of negotiations is at  
6 stake in these opportunities. At stake is not only the  
7 accommodation of divergent Western and Soviet governmental  
8 interests, but the basis on which that accommodation is to  
9 be reached. Will it be achieved on the basis of a recognized  
10 Soviet sphere of influence confronting the NATO alliance? Or  
11 will it be achieved on the basis of new and more secure  
12 relationships in Europe permitting individual countries to  
13 develop natural and normal economic cultural and informational  
14 links with each other? If the second alternative is realized,  
15 if a free and open exchange of information develops within  
16 and between the individual countries of Europe -- the valuable  
17 private international media of which I have spoken will no  
18 longer have a valid function. This is the goal for which these  
19 radios are working. Until that goal is achieved, there is  
20 every reason to encourage Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty  
21 to continue in their present role.

22 It is for this reason that I wish to stress, in conclusion,  
23 that the establishment of the American Council for Private  
24 International Communications will be an act fully compatible  
25 with the objectives which I believe you, Mr. Chairman, and the

1 members of your committee share with those of us who are  
2 engaged in implementing the President's desire to move from  
3 confrontation to negotiation.

4 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 The Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

6 Senator Sparkman.

7 Senator Sparkman. Mr. Secretary, what can you tell us  
8 about the policy orientation in Radio Free Europe and Radio  
9 Liberty? Has their policy orientation changed over the years?  
10 Has it, shall I say, mellowed, and what is their objective?

11 Mr. Hillenbrand. I think one can say looking over the  
12 broadcasts over the years, that there has been a gradual shift  
13 away from the intensity of the confrontation which existed  
14 during the height of the cold war period to a more, let us say,  
15 equable facing of the news on a day to day basis. This we will  
16 anticipate would continue on into the future.

17 Under the new system, because the private personalities  
18 responsible for the broadcasts and for the operation of these  
19 stations would have no reasons for changing this, so I would  
20 anticipate that the dissemination of accurate information about  
21 conditions in Eastern Europe and elsewhere would continue to be  
22 the primary function of the Radios in the future.

23 Senator Sparkman. Do I understand correctly that there  
24 has been, perhaps, some mellowing with reference to the countries  
25 to which the programs are beamed; in other words, with reference

## Congress Is Asked To End Financing Of Radio by C.I.A.

By BENJAMIN WELLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23— President Nixon has asked Congress to create a tax-exempt nonprofit corporation to finance and supervise Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

The Administration's draft proposal, which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is scheduled to discuss tomorrow, marks a concession to Congressional criticism of secret financing of the two stations by the Central Intelligence Agency since their creation in the early nineteen-fifties.

If approved, Mr. Nixon's measure would end C.I.A. funding and covert control of the two stations. Instead, Congress would appropriate approximately \$40-million annually for the proposed corporation, which would be known as the American Council for Private International Communications, Inc.

The council would have a board of directors of 11 American citizens drawn from professional, business and cultural life. As currently proposed the directors, officers and employees of the corporation would "not be deemed to be" Government employees.

The directors would be named by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Initially, the council would be barred from channeling funds received from Congress into any activities except those of the two radio stations. Eventually, however, Congressional sources say, funds and authority might be expanded by Congress to include educational and cultural exchanges.

Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, said that he was pleased "that the Nixon Administration has accepted my proposal for open Government funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

On Jan. 24 Mr. Case criticized C.I.A. funding of the two stations, which he said was running at approximately \$30-million yearly and had involved "several hundred million dollars during the past 20 years."

He and Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, introduced legislation calling for direct Congressional appropriations to finance the two stations.

Following prolonged consultations with Mr. Case and Mr. Reid, the State Department prepared its own proposal for funding the stations through a nonprofit corporation.

The C.I.A.'s control and financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty has always been officially denied although it has been an open secret in Europe for two decades and has elicited repeated protests from East European governments — especially Poland — to West Germany.

Radio Liberty, which broadcasts into the Soviet Union, and Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts into the other East European countries, have offices in New York. Their day-to-day direction, however, is exercised in Munich where each station has extensive broadcasting facilities.

STATINTL

TRENTON, N.J.  
 TIMES  
 E - 81,855  
 TIMES-ADVERTISER  
 S - 102,422

MAY 23 1971

## Nixon Backs Over-The-Table Funds For Radio Free Europe

Times Advertiser  
 Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Nixon administration has agreed to open government funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) he announced.

The administration decision came Friday in response to a proposal by Case that the two broadcasting operations be removed from the influence of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

"Our national interest is best served when activities which should be in the open are removed from the clandestine arena," Case said in hailing the administration move.

The New Jersey Republican is not completely satisfied with the administration's response to his complaints, but he said he feels confident that differences can be worked out. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold hearings tomorrow on Case's proposal concerning Radio Free Europe and the

administration's counter-plan.

### Case's Bill

Case originally introduced a bill in January which called for congressional scrutiny of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. He complained that in the last 20 years, several hundred million dollars of U.S. Government funds have been expended from secret CIA budget to pay almost the entire cost of the two radio stations broadcasting to Eastern Europe.

None of this money was subject to congressional approval.

Case has proposed a public corporation to run the two stations with congressional appropriations.

The administration has now responded with its own plan for funding the stations through a non-profit corporation to be known as the American Council for Private International Communications Inc. The council would be managed by eleven directors chosen by the President and subject to Senate confirmation.

Case said he approves of

the basic premise behind the administration plan, but questions whether the President should appoint all 11 directors and whether the council should be required to come annually to Congress for an authorization rather than only request funds.

In other words, he feels the council should be required to justify its funding each year.

RAI  
NEWS & OBSERVER

M - 130,652

S - 148,247

MAY 22 1971

Glad CIA Is Out of Overseas Broadcasting

# Case Asks Closer Watch Of Radio Propaganda

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — Sen. Clifford P. Case, R-N.J., says he is glad to hear the Central Intelligence Agency is getting out of the overseas broadcast business, but he wants Congress to keep a closer watch on radio propaganda efforts.

Case said in a weekend statement that "the Nixon administration has accepted my proposal for open government funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty."

He called it "a wise decision to eliminate the CIA from the operation of these two stations."

DURING the past 20 years, the United States has financed these radio information programs from "secret CIA budgets," Case said, which effectively bypassed Congress' constitutional role of controlling appropriations.

Such secrecy and short cuts might have been necessary when the program started, Case acknowledged, "but the justification has lessened over the years as international tension has eased, as the secrecy surrounding these radio stations has melted away."

Case introduced legislation Jan. 25 calling for direct congressional appropriations for the radio programs, which are aimed at providing a western version of news and information for Eastern

European nations. The Foreign Relations Committee, of which Case is a member, is scheduled to open hearings on his bill on Monday.

AFTER Case introduced his legislation, the administration came up with its own proposal to support the radio efforts through a non-profit corporation called "The American Council for Private International Communications Inc." The council would distribute about \$40 million in funds to the two programs.

Case said he plans to introduce the administration's bill Monday, but has reservations about the proposed appointment by the President of an 11-member board of directors. Rep.

Ogden R. Reid, R-N.Y., will sponsor the measure in the House.

"We should give careful consideration to whether it is appropriate for the President to appoint all the council's directors," Case said. "We shall need firm assurances that CIA participation in the stations will be terminated ... the council should not be used as a means of expanding government participation in the dissemination of information overseas."



FRAMINGHAM, MASS.  
NEWS

E - 21,753

MAY 18 1971

## High Cost of Spies

President Nixon is reported to be weighing a major reorganization of the nation's foreign intelligence activities.

It is an effort worth Presidential attention, and not merely because of the vast amounts of money that are spent.

Economy is the prime motivation in the reorganization plan worked up in the White House. The nation spends \$5 billion annually on intelligence-gathering; five Federal agencies besides the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) have intelligence programs, and at least 200,000 people are involved.

Some White House officials are reported to believe \$500 million could be saved. That's 10 per cent of the spying budget; the savings alone sound like an enormous sum.

Mr. Nixon is reported unhappy with some of the failures of the vast intelligence network: not knowing that American prisoners had been removed from that North Vietnamese prison; not predicting the stiff resistance to the Laos incursion; not forecasting the Polish riots.

It may be that a leaner, more centralized operation would be more omniscient; that is certainly a goal worth pursuing.

But an equally important goal Mr. Nixon should not overlook is to

separate intelligence-gathering from subversion, and from clandestine pursuit of American foreign policy interests that could perfectly well stand the light of day.

It is the CIA that has financed a guerrilla army in Laos—a program that ought to be in the Defense Department's budget, if it is indeed worth doing.

It has been CIA money that has quietly underwritten student trips abroad and Radio Free Europe; the result has been to distort one of America's proudest traditions, that of individual action independent of government.

It has been CIA efforts to find "cover" for its agents as researchers and scholars — and occasionally, in fact, to buy the services of legitimate scholars — that have made Americans suspect in many parts of the globe.

Intelligence-gathering is a vital part of the conduct of our foreign policy. But it need not become so entwined in other activities and agencies, both public and private, that Americans abroad are automatically suspected of spying or subversion.

To remedy that problem is just as important as tightening up the budget.

STATINTL

ST. LOUIS, MO.  
POST-DISPATCH

E - 326,376  
S - 541,868

MAY 12 1971

### *Spooky Voices*

With the laudable intention of getting CIA spooks out of the operation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the Nixon Administration reportedly is preparing to ask Congress to create a "public-private" corporation through which annual federal appropriations of \$36,000,000 would be channeled to the two "unofficial" U. S. radio voices in Europe.

Commendable as the change in financing may be, however, it seems to us doomed to failure. Ever since the disclosure some four years ago that the CIA was financing what had been presumed to be the voice of freedom for listeners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, that voice has had a suspicious accent. Now that the new financing plan is said to have been prepared with the aid of the CIA and with the approval of a subcommittee of the National Security Council, what listener can hear the broadcasts without seeing agents in disguise manipulating the transmitters?

We are afraid Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been irreparably corrupted.

STATINTL

TRENTON, N.J.

TIMES

E - 81,855

TIMES-ADVERTISER

S - 102,422

MAY 4 1971

## Financing America's 'Voices'

The Nixon administration is moving — largely under the prodding of this state's senior senator, Clifford P. Case — to end the covert financing by the Central Intelligence Agency of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

A couple of months ago, Senator Case disclosed that, over the last 20 years, the CIA had spent "several hundred million dollars" in secret subsidies on the stations. This in spite of the facts that CIA involvement is officially denied and that the stations are billed as "private, non-profit" and "non-government."

Senator Case and Rep. Ogden R. Reid, R-N.Y., introduced legislation to amend the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide direct subsidies to the stations and to bar any other form of government financing.

The plan the administration is reportedly preparing takes a different approach, but is apparently satisfactory to Messrs. Case and Reid and to congressional leaders generally. It calls for authorization of a "public-private" corporation

that would finance the two stations through annual congressional appropriations.

Like the Case-Reid plan, the administration proposal would take the CIA out of a business it should never have been in in the first place. And it would provide government funds for the stations under traditional congressional appropriations safeguards.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have served since they were set up in the early fifties as the U.S. government's "unofficial" voice to Europeans living under Communist rule. The "official" voice is the Voice of America, which is financed and operated through the U.S. Information Agency.

The "unofficial" voice may be as important as the "official" one, and a number of congressmen feel strongly that it is. But as long as it is also a "government" voice, it should be funded openly through congressional appropriations and not covertly through an agency whose function is to gather intelligence, not disseminate information.

3 MAY 1971

## SUPPORT OF RADIO BY C.I.A. MAY END

### Council Sought to Operate 2 European Outlets

By BENJAMIN WELLES  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2—The Nixon Administration is reported to be preparing to ask Congress to authorize a "public-private" corporation that would finance Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through annual Congressional appropriations of \$36-million.

If approved—and preliminary reactions from leaders of Congress are said to be favorable—the plan would end the financing of the stations by the Central Intelligence Agency. They were created as a product of the cold war in the early nineteen-fifties.

The Administration is expected to propose the formation of an American Council for Private International Communications, Inc., with a board of 15 to be appointed by the President with Congressional approval. The council would receive the Congressional appropriations and pass them in turn to the radio stations. It would also supervise the existing boards of public figures who now, theoretically, control both radio stations.

The council would be a way of continuing both stations, which the Administration and many Congressional leaders want, but with open State Department policy guidance and regular Congressional appropriations.

This would replace the semi-secret C.I.A. control that has been subject to disclosures embarrassing to the Administration and has also been criticized in Congress.

On Jan. 24, Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, disclosed that the C.I.A. had spent "several hundred million dollars" in secret subsidies on the stations. "Yet at no time," he said "was Congress asked or permitted to carry out its traditional constitutional role of approving the expenditure."

Last year alone, he said, the C.I.A. spent more than \$30-million, to operate the two stations. C.I.A. control of the stations is officially denied.

Senator Case and Representative Ogden Rosten, Democrat of Westchester, introduced legislation to amend the United

States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 to provide direct subsidies of \$30-million to the stations, and barring any other form of Government financing.

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Eastern European countries, and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, report foreign and local events.

### Operations in Munich

The two stations have offices in New York City, but their operational headquarters are in Munich and their powerful transmitters are in Portugal and Spain. Jointly they employ in Munich more than 1,000 staff analysts, newsmen and broadcasters, mainly of East European ethnic origin.

With information furnished largely by clandestine sources, the two radio stations serve as the United States Government's "unofficial" voice to Europeans living under Communist rule. The Voice of America is, on the other hand, the "official" United States voice and, as such, avoids affronting the Soviet Union and other Communist governments.

Representative Reid said he approved of the Administration's plan for a corporation. "There is concern in Congress over the need to fund a program of communications between the peoples of the world," he said, "but there is also concern over the need to strengthen the credibility of these stations."

A spokesman for Senator Case said that the Senator would support direct Government subsidies to the two stations or financing through such an intermediary as the proposed corporation. The spokesman added that Mr. Case would oppose continuation of secret financing through the C.I.A.

Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat of Brooklyn, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee for the State, Commerce and Justice Departments and the Federal judiciary, said that the measure had not been discussed with him yet. However, he added:

"For years I've been a strong supporter of the Voice of America and I think Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are as important or perhaps more important."

Government sources said that the Administration's plan had been prepared in the State Department with the aid of the C.I.A. and United States Information Agency. It has been approved by a subcommittee of the Senate. So far, informants said, the plan has been explained by the

Administration to a small number of Congressional leaders, including Senator Case and Representative Reid; Representatives George H. Mahon, Democrat of Texas, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee; Representative Carl Albert, Democrat of Oklahoma, Speaker of the House; representative Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan, House minority leader; Representative Thomas E. Morgan, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Representative William S. Mailhard of California, second-ranking Republican member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

STATINTL

## CIA on CIA

"I am the head of the silent service and cannot advertise my wares." - Allen Dulles, 1957.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors was flattered that theirs was the forum chosen by Mr. Richard Helms, director of Central Intelligence and concurrently director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for his first public speech in 10 years. "The quality of foreign intelligence available to the United States in 1971," he told the editors in a self-serving assessment, "is better than it has ever been before." It would have been interesting had Mr. Helms attempted a correlation between value and volume. Benjamin Welles in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* (April 18, 1971) breaks down the daily mountain of intelligence information as "50 percent from overt sources such as periodicals, 35 percent from electronics [satellites and radio], and the remaining 15 percent from agents." How important is the 15 percent?

Mr. Helms noted the "growing criticism" of CIA, but he avoided any discussion of its cause. The "intelligence" function of the agency is not what has provoked all the controversy. Criticism has centered not on "spying," but on CIA's political action abroad - the suborning of political leaders, labor union officials, scholars, students, journalists and anyone else who can be bought. CIA has been criticized for straying from information gathering onto the path of manipulation of foundations and such organizations as the National Student Association or Radio Free Europe or the AFL-CIO. Through liaison with foreign police and security services, the CIA tries to keep track of foreign "subversives," frequently defined as those who want to depose the government in power. Each report it manages to secure from its clandestine sources has a price in terms of closer alliance with one reactionary regime after another - as in Greece and numerous countries in Asia and Latin America. The complicity is no secret to the host government, or to the Communists, only to the American taxpayer.

Mr. Helms' point that "CIA is not and cannot be its own master" is the most difficult to accept, even from the honorable man that Mr. Helms unquestionably is. To be sure, there is a review system, but it is more shadow than substance. The President's foreign intelligence advisory board, which is supposed to analyze a \$4 billion Intelligence program, is characterized by inattention, fatigue and a charming lack of expertise. There is only the most cursory inspection and oversight of CIA by "elements of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees," which from time to time raise their hands in benediction over any Intelligence presentation. The average congressional "watchdog" is long in the tooth, and prefers not to receive in detail highly classified information, confessing in advance lack of training in sound security

practices. Such small ad hoc bodies cannot possibly cope with the multi-agencies, their billions of dollars, and their hundreds of thousands of people; in sum, the "Intelligence community." The core question, as with the FBI, is an old one: who guards the guardians?

STATINTL

May 1971

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601

## PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

This term gained currency during World War II when propaganda became an integral part of the military operations. It implies more than a war of words. "There is the view," says William E. Daugherty in his "International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences" published in New York in 1968, "that psychological warfare involves an even wider range of activity, including symbolic acts of violence and terror designed to intimidate or to persuade an adversary to adjust his behaviour. Those who hold to this view of psychological warfare would include within its scope various undercover activities, such as espionage and subversion, assassinations and other forms of terrorism ... when they are designed to mould the opinion or behaviour of specific groups." In other words, it is inseparable from espionage and subversion.

Psychological warfare has become one of the main weapons employed by imperialism against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. As far back as 1950 President Truman established the Psychological Strategy Board taking in an Under-Secretary of State, a Deputy Secretary of Defence, and the Director of Central Intelligence. In 1953 the USIA, set up on the initiative of Dulles, was subordinated to this Board and was charged with assessing reactions abroad to U.S. policies and softening the impact of these policies.

The USIA is the main official channel for the dissemination of anti-communist ideas and propaganda of the "American way of life," the general staff, in a sense, of cold war planning. Its principal mouthpiece is the Voice of America, and it has branches in 111 countries.

Of all the methods of psychological warfare, the topmost is the so-called "black propaganda." Its purpose is provocative, and its source is carefully concealed; as a matter of fact, it is frequently credited to the adversary. This camouflaged channel is used for spreading the crudest lies, so that if they are exposed, the "white" or official propaganda should not be discredited. Then there is also the "grey" propaganda, the source of which is simply not indicated.

The biggest purveyor of U.S. "black" propaganda is Radio Free Europe, which operates behind a private mask and on foreign territory. But from time to time

the bosses of organizations of this order are brought into the light of day. This happened early this year, for instance, when Senator Clifford P. Case revealed (though the fact was not really a secret even before) that Radio Free Europe, and also Radio Liberty, are in effect the voice of the CIA.

Although the term itself is relatively new, psychological warfare has been waged in all of its forms against the land of Soviets since its very inception. In this past half-century, however, the bourgeois propagandists have learned some lessons. The old, naked anti-Sovietism, the frightening of the public with the "horrors of communism," and the arrogant, sneering tone in which this smear campaign was conducted are no longer effective. Fabrications, downright lies and gross ideological subversion have not of course been discarded, but they are being replaced with fabrications of a more subtle order. This is the "soft-sell" technique as distinct from the old "hard-sell" method. The achievements of socialism

can no longer be denied, but they can be denigrated. Bourgeois propagandists go out of their way to dig up negative phenomena which they then pass off as typical. They go so far as to take up the cudgels on behalf of socialist ideals, deplore "departures" from these ideals and advocate "reforms." They try to seek out unstable elements in order to undermine socialism from within.

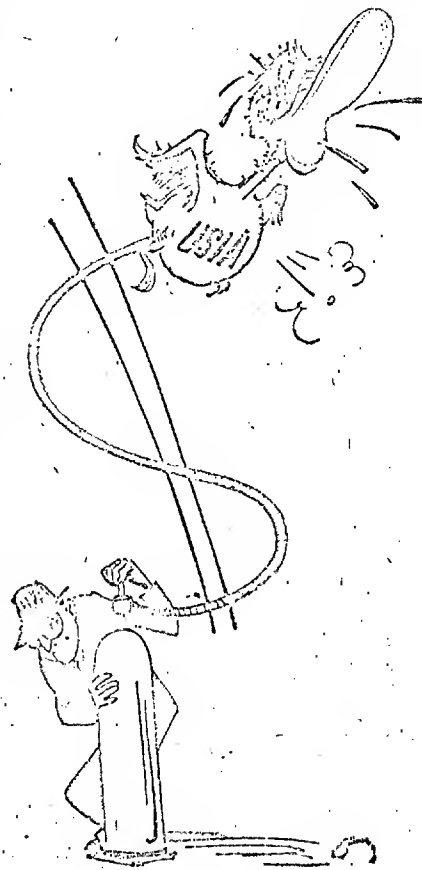
But is psychological warfare inevitable? This question is dealt with by Georgi Arbatov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, in his study: "The Ideological Struggle in Contemporary International Relations." Many, he says, have become accustomed in the past twenty years or so to identify ideological struggle with psychological warfare, which damages relations between states and sows distrust and enmity. "Ideological struggle, as the Communists see it, has nothing in common with 'psychological warfare.' There is as great a difference between them as between the two policies of which they are part—peaceful co-existence and the cold war."

The struggle of ideas, differences as regards understanding and appraisal of one or another phenomenon, as regards the ways and means of achieving the ideals shared by the majority of mankind, the merits or demerits of one or another system, are one thing, and the advocacy of war and hatred between peoples, slander and incitement to sabotage and like crimes is quite another. Propaganda of the latter type is not a matter of ideological struggle—it is subversion pure and simple. It implies interference in the internal affairs of states and hence is incompatible with the principles of peaceful co-existence.

## BOOMERANG EFFECT

The record shows that imperialist propaganda, even when it was not as subtle, diversified and lavishly financed as it is today, succeeded, in combination with terror and provocation, in whipping up chauvinism and war hysteria on a mass scale. But history has also shown that the magic of words is not all-powerful. Millions of people have rid or are ridding themselves of this psychosis. This is evident today in the United States.

The theorists of bourgeois propaganda complain that a "crisis of confidence" has set in. They warn against overestimating the power of the



Drawings by V. Chernikov

mass media. The journal *American Psychologist*, in an article entitled "The Obstinate Audience," shows that the human being is not a lump of clay to be moulded at will, not a robot, an "impotent reactor"; however great the influence of the mass media, they confirm people in their opinion rather than change their thinking.

This "crisis of confidence" has not come about overnight. It is the result of social and historical experience. The facts are giving the lie to the information media. It is hard to convince the worker that he is not exploited if his own experience proves the contrary at every step, if he sees unemployment and poverty around him, if he has lost faith in the morrow.

And with what "ideas" can the aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos be justified? What sleight of hand can erase the image of the U.S. imprinted in the minds of hundreds of millions the world over? The actual policies reduce to nought the labours of the propagandists, whose efforts, by their own admission, are having a "boomerang effect." It is not by chance that there have been more than 100 cases of USIA libraries abroad being attacked by anti-American demonstrators. Many of them were burned down. The U.S. columnist Joseph Alsop has described these burning libraries as warning signals.

A Republican Party committee report published in 1963 pointed out that the effectiveness of American psychological operations outside the country depended on U.S. actions at home and abroad. The sharp growth of distrust of the U.S. in recent years, it said, was to a far greater extent due to the qualitative changes for the worse in U.S. policy than to shortcomings in the work of the United States Information Agency.

The manipulators of public thinking are dreaming of more effective means than those which technological progress has given them to date. They are looking forward to using emotion- and thought-controlling drugs, even employing genetics and electronics to this end. As far back as the thirties Aldous Huxley in his "Brave New World" described a society practising mass test-tube production of human beings with pre-programmed characteristics, both physical and mental. In such a society there are no malcontents!

Nor is this as fantastic as it might seem. Towards the end of last year

*New York Times Magazine* carried an article about the experiments conducted by the prominent psychiatrist, Yale University Professor José Delgado, whom the journal called the "prophet of a new 'psycho-civilized' society." Delgado has established direct, non-sensory communication between the computer and the brain of a "freely acting" chimpanzee. To some extent he controls the behaviour of his experimental animals by radio and evokes in them such emotions as anger, fear, and pleasure. In humans he has been able to induce hallucinations. The futurologists Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener in their book "The Year 2000" predict direct government control over public thinking by means of technical devices. But this sinister prospect is evoking growing protest even among bourgeois scientists, who see in these experiments a threat to human freedom.

\* \* \*

"People," Lenin said, "always have been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learned to seek out the interests of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." But this is not easy to do. Fortunately, however, in the modern world bourgeois propaganda no longer has the monopoly on the dissemination of information.

Revolutionaries have never shied away from the word "propaganda." They openly propound their views, for these views reflect the interests of the people. They do not search for euphemisms for the word "socialism," for socialist ideas are finding a live response in the hearts and minds of the working people.

Propaganda of socialism is directed against the bourgeois manipulators, the hired agents of imperialism, who dare not come out into the open and hence are compelled to invent ideological myths. Socialist propaganda brings to the millions the truth about socialism, exposes the policy of the imperialists, helps people to see through the insidious devices of psychological warfare, teaches the masses to recognize their own true interests. It operates through the power not only of the word but of the deed, and, in particular, through the force of example. It serves the cause of progress and peace among the nations.

# 'Radio Free' Grip Of CIA Opposed

STATINTL

By JOHN P. WALLACH  
News American Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Nixon is being urged by his top advisers to submit legislation that would turn over control of Radio Free Europe (RFE), now largely supported by secret Central Intelligence Agency funds, to a public corporation funded by Congress, U. S. officials disclosed today.

As a result of high-level administration backing for the public corporation idea, upcoming Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings are expected to become an unusual "love-in" at which Sen. Clifford M. Case, R-N. J., probably will agree to introduce an administration bill.

CASE HAS spearheaded a Senate drive to strip RFE of what he alleges are subsidies of "several hundred million dollars" from "secret" CIA funds which, he contends, have for 20 years provided the bulk of RFE's budget.

Case agreed to postpone the hearings, which had been scheduled to begin today, to May 24 after key administration officials indicated more time was needed to put finishing touches on the public corporation measure, and to seek Nixon's approval.

Case had threatened to conduct hearings that would have seriously embarrassed the administration, calling former RFE staffers to testify, among other things, that they had to sign an oath to keep secret CIA involvement or face a maximum \$10,000 fine and 10-year prison sentence.

SOURCES CLOSE to Case said today that the May 24 hearing date is the final extension that the administration will be granted. If the White House does not by then come up with an acceptable substitute for CIA funding, "adversary" hearings will ensue, the sources warned.

Although Nixon has not yet acted, the public corporation proposal is understood to have the blessing of the administration's super-secret "Forty Committee," also known as the "CIA Group," where a review was recently undertaken.

Although chaired by National Security Council chief Dr. Henry Kissinger, the mechanism is used only when a subject is considered too hot to go to the President through regular NSC channels.

THE PUBLIC corporation idea reportedly appeals to State Department officials because, although funded by Congress, RFE would retain a semi-private character that would allow the U. S. government, whenever convenient, to deny association with RFE broadcasts.

This "hands-off-when-convenient" policy is considered essential to RFE's ability to survive in an area that does not duplicate the work of the Voice of America, the official U. S. propaganda agency.

Funding a public corporation to run RFE would not involve any new money, congressional sources explained, since the government is already footing the bill. It would allow transferring the \$33 million annual subsidy from secret CIA coffers to the open, congressional appropriation process.



# THE PERISCOPE

## PEKING'S U.S. BUYING PLANS

High on Peking's U.S. shopping list are American jetliners. The Chinese, who now rely on Soviet and British designs for their civil aviation system, are eager to fly world routes and want U.S. jets (preferably Boeing 707s) for the job. The White House is ready to give its approval to such a deal, whether the Chinese decide to handle it directly with Boeing or through a third party and whether it is for new or reconditioned aircraft. Either way, it means a major trade breakthrough for the U.S. and a welcome lift for the beleaguered aircraft company.

## RADIO FREE EUROPE LIVES ON

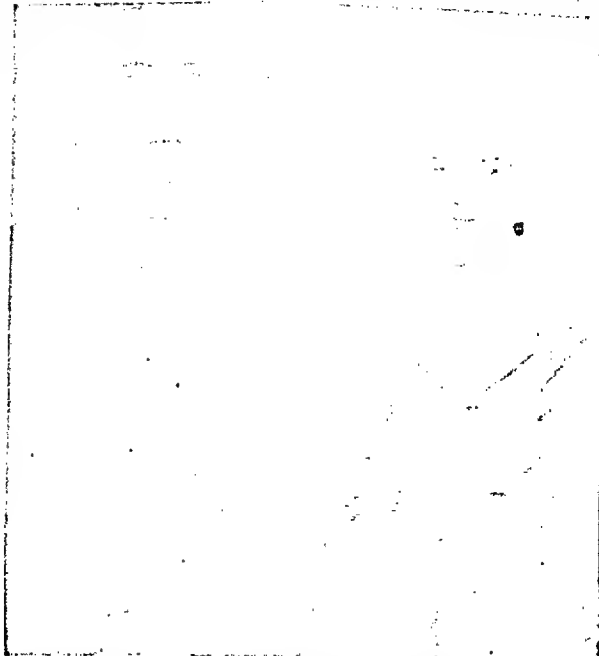
The sustained Soviet-bloc charges that the Munich-based (and Washington-financed) Radio Free Europe is a U.S. propaganda voice have failed to sway the Bonn government, which licenses RFE. The West Germans plan no action on RFE's license, which is on a year-to-year basis. No action means automatic renewal.

## MORE MUSCLE FOR SYRIA

Moscow wants to give Syria a more potent role in the Mideast. The Russians are urging Damascus to agree to a joint military command with Cairo, which would let the Egyptians use Syrian airfields in any new fight with Israel. Some 70 Soviet, Czech and Pakistani pilots also are training Syrians in MIG-21s. (Syria has 100 of the planes but only 50 qualified pilots.)

STATINTL

# WALTER SCOTT'S Personality Parade



HITLER WITH EVA BRAUN WHOM HE FINALLY WED

**Q.** Is there any proof that Adolf Hitler was a sex pervert or that his murderous behavior was motivated by sexual inadequacy?—J. H. Knowles, Berkeley, Calif.

**A.** Russian pathologists who autopsied Hitler's remains, reported in 1968 that he was a victim of "monorchism," a man born sexually incomplete. A 1943 study of Hitler's personality by the Office of Strategic Services, wartime predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency, reveals that Hitler was a masochist who could achieve full sexual satisfaction only as a result of sadistic punishment by a female.

Dr. Norbert Bromberg of Tarrytown, N.Y. and the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, New York City, is preparing a popular book on Adolf Hitler which will reveal in detail Hitler's sex life. At a recent meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association in New York City, Dr. Bromberg gave a paper entitled, *Further Observations on Hitler's Character and its Development*.

Another outstanding reference is *The Death of Adolf Hitler* by L. Borymowski, published in this country by Harcourt, Brace in 1958.

There is a great deal of evidence that Hitler was also a syphilitic, a sociopath, and of course a hypochondriac who was an easy mark for medical quacks of all types.

Dr. Bromberg hopes to link the public life and his future book to the symptoms of paranoid behavior in potential governmental leaders.

**Q.** I would like to know if Nikita Khrushchev has ever seen the American version of his book, *Khrushchev Remembers*. If so, what does he think of it? Also are U.S. tourists permitted to bring into the Soviet Union copies of *Khrushchev Remembers* and *Dr. Zhivago*?—Herbert Kendall, Burlington, Vt.

**A.** Two copies of *Khrushchev Remembers* were delivered to the Khrushchev dacha outside Moscow early in January. Reportedly Mr. K. was surprised and delighted at the structuring of his reminiscences after the book was translated to him.

According to Alexander Evstafiev, press attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., "American tourists are allowed to bring into the Soviet Union any type of personal belonging including copies of *Khrushchev Remembers* or *Dr. Zhivago* just so long as these books are not disseminated to Soviet citizens for anti-Soviet purposes." In other words, if a tourist brings such books into the Soviet Union, he should also bring them out.

**Q.** I see that William Bundy is becoming editor of the highly respected magazine, *Foreign Affairs*. Was not this the same Bundy who was responsible for advising Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to get into and escalate the war in Vietnam?—Carol Ames, Iowa City, Iowa.

**A.** Bundy, during his working time in the State and Defense Departments, was regarded as a war hawk of the top stripe, although he was most tactful and diplomatic about it. Along with his brother, McGeorge Bundy, President Johnson's special assistant for national security affairs, he was, as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, an important architect of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

William Bundy is currently a research associate with the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His academic fate has been more prestigious than that which befell his colleagues, Dean Rusk and Walt Whitman Rostow.

**Q.** Does the CIA run Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty?—Ellen Gage, Charlottesville, Va.

**A.** These West German-based radio stations are largely operations of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency whose director is Richard Helms.

STATINTL



DETROIT, MICH.

NEWS

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-0

MAR 18 1971

E - 592,616

S - 827,086

## Broadcasts breach Iron Curtain

# Radio Free Europe ratings

stay high

By WILBUR E. ELSTON  
Associate Editor - Editorial Page

Radio Free Europe (RFE) may be a controversial issue in the United States because it is funded in part by the Central Intelligence Agency but its broadcasts still are highly popular on both sides of Europe's Iron Curtain.

In West Germany, officials feel that it is an essential news medium because it offers a factual account of events in the world — and particularly Eastern Europe — to people who otherwise would have to depend on a Communist government-controlled press, radio and TV.

The listeners in Eastern Europe — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria — corroborate the Western officials' statement. Through letters, interviews with Eastern Europeans visiting the West and statements by Communist government officials, RFE learns that its messages are getting through.

Nathan Kingsley, the RFE news director in Munich, a former editor of the New York Herald Tribune's foreign service, insists that the RFE news department operates like any other news and feature service. Its newsmen are experienced professionals and its clients are the radio departments that provide news, commentary, music, and coverage of other cultural activities for the five countries at which RFE is aimed.

RFE WENT ON the air on July 4, 1950, through the instigation of Gen. Lucius Clay, postwar commander of U.S. forces in Europe, and other leading Americans who formed Free Europe Inc., the radio station's parent body. Clay, still chairman of its board of directors, said at the time:

"I came home with the firm conviction that we needed, in addition to the Voice of America, a different, wider voice, a voice of the free people, a radio which would not speak the words of government but would speak to each country behind the Iron Curtain in its own language, through the voices of those who had fled for their lives because of their beliefs in freedom."

RFE collects its news and other information from a network of bureaus and special correspondents in Washington, at

the United Nations in New York and in 10 Western European capitals. It also is served by the major news services and receives the radio-teletype services of 11 Communist news agencies. In addition, it monitors news broadcasts from Eastern

*News Associate Editor Wilbur E. Elston recently returned from West Germany, where he spent two weeks observing developments in that key Western European nation.*

Europe and its experts read and digest hundreds of Eastern European newspapers and magazines.

From this mass of information, totaling more than a million words a day, RFE's central newsroom edits and writes a news and features file of about 100,000 words a day. This becomes the basis for the news and commentary broadcasts which constitute about 16 percent of the RFE output each day.

Programs are broadcast in Bulgarian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish and Romanian. RFE is on the air about 20 hours a day to Czechoslovakia, 10 to Hungary and Poland, 12 to Romania and 7½ to Bulgaria.

News broadcasts every hour on the hour are the mainstay of RFE but these are followed by commentaries and analyses which help listeners understand events and trends in their own countries in the light of world developments. Drama, music, sports, entertainment, reviews of the Western press and on-the-spot coverage of major events also are offered.

RFE SEES as proof of the effectiveness of its programs the fact that all five Eastern European countries have tried at various times to jam RFE programs. Poland, however, gave it up in 1953; Romania, in 1953; and Hungary, in 1964.

After the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in 1933, it reinstated full jamming of RFE. And while RFE does not broadcast to the Soviet Union, the USSR has begun an intensive campaign to discredit RFE in Eastern Europe.

Eastern European regimes also frequently attack RFE through their press, radio and TV and through speeches, lectures, books and films.

While there have been previous reports of Communist efforts to infiltrate Radio Free Europe, a last week appeared at a press conference in Warsaw to claim that he had worked

in Munich six years as a member of the Polish Interior Ministry's intelligence service.

Czechowicz denounced Radio Free Europe as a "secret-service transmitter" aimed at subverting Communist rule in Poland and claimed he had uncovered RFE "agents" in Poland.

What Czechowicz's attack may foreshadow is an increase in criticism of RFE and a step-up of Communist efforts to use the 1972 Olympics in Munich as an excuse for demanding that West Germany close the station or face the possible loss of Iron Curtain country competitors in the games.

His attack also may increase criticism of RFE in the United States, where some people already are concerned about the contributions the CIA makes to RFE. While annual reports are made for contributions to RFE in the United States, it is one of the world's worst-kept secrets that the CIA makes up the RFE deficits.

Senator Clifford P. Case, New Jersey Republican, recently told the Senate that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, a similar station that broadcasts to the Soviet Union, get CIA funding totaling \$30 million a year.

IN MUNICH, however, questions about the source of funding are turned away with the statement: "I can't comment on that."

RFE officials explain that they have nothing to do with the financing of the station but are just trying to do the best possible reporting job for their Eastern European listeners.

Kingsley points out that RFE journalists exercise caution in two particular fields: They are extremely careful to be accurate in handling provocative stories that might arouse revolt or foment trouble and they avoid using names of any reported defectors from behind the Iron Curtain until the defectors actually have signed statements applying for asylum.

Despite criticisms to the contrary, RFE does not encourage East Europeans to defector nor does it advocate the violent overthrow of, or revolt against, the Communist governments in Eastern Europe. Instead, it seeks its aims through the long-term enlightenment of the people by a diversity of opinion that tends to aid freedom.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

5  
April 14, 1971

ST Approved For Release

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

**SOUTH CAROLINA WILDLIFE FEDERATION NAMES WATER CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR**

**HON. STROM THURMOND**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 14, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, according to an article published in a recent copy of the Water Spectrum magazine, the South Carolina Wildlife Federation has cited Col. Burke W. Lee as water conservationist of the year for his attempts to "combine needed development and progress with a high regard for our national resources." Colonel Lee is the Charleston district engineer for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

I feel that this award is not only well-deserved recognition of a conscientious conservationist, but also recognition of State and Federal teamwork in the area of conservation. Colonel Lee has worked closely with the South Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission as well as other State agencies to develop the planning and management needed to bring about sensible, healthy development of the water resources of South Carolina.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the excerpt from the Charleston Evening Post, which was reprinted in the spring issue of the magazine Water Spectrum, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**SOUTH CAROLINA WILDLIFE FEDERATION NAMES WATER CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR**

When the South Carolina Wildlife Federation this month named Col. Burke W. Lee its water conservationist of the year it was the first time conservationists in this State had smiled with favor on the Army Engineers.

It marked recognition of the Corps of Engineers' protective policy towards the Nation's waters during the last few years.

Lee is Charleston District Engineer. The agency of the Federal government has not been exactly the darling of the "hard line" protectionists among wildlife and nature buffs. What brought about the award was a change in emphasis in Washington, D.C., a change that began in earnest with passage of the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act.

Basically, that act is a matter of interpretation of what may and may not be done by the government in its efforts to control, reduce and—perhaps—stop the increase in pollution of land, air and water.

As Lee put it: "The action and events resulting in the award have been the result of the policy of the Corps of Engineers in its growing response to the need to protect the quality of our environment. The Corps has always tried to reflect the public will. Ten or 20 years ago, the public was not as concerned over environmental protection as it is today."

Lee said that the award was "really an award to this district, not to me. It came as a result of the hard work and dedication of our entire staff of military and civilian personnel."

Even so, the Wildlife Federation's presentation to Lee marks one of the few times in

the Nation that an Army Engineer District head has so been honored.

When President Nixon directed a hard-nosed approach to environmental care two years ago, the Corps of Engineers was rather definitely in bad odor with the wildlife and outdoors people. Under the new policies, there same people today are looking to the Corps for leadership in many facets of the quality environmental thrust.

Among the items listed in the Wildlife Federation's citation on Lee were his handling of a major oil spill in Charleston Harbor, the halting of unauthorized landfill operations and development of sophisticated diking systems for impounding dredge spoil.

The citation also commended Lee's attempts to "combine needed development and progress with a high regard for our natural resources."

Since becoming district engineer, Lee has accomplished a memorandum of understanding between the engineers and the South Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission providing for multiple use of selected disposal areas. This program is designed to permit development of the areas for fish and wildlife as well as for disposal of dredged spoil.

Under the terms of the Rivers and Harbors Act, the State must supply all disposal areas. The South Carolina State Ports Authority acts for the State insofar as waterways are concerned. Thus, the engineers' dredges may not dump dredge spoil anywhere unless the area has been selected, approved and provided by the State.

One of Lee's projects has been a long range spoil disposal study. It takes into consideration 19 different plans for disposal of dredge silt, each with its own analysis of its effect on wildlife. Another project has been on beach erosion, an area in which Lee has arranged meetings between Federal and State leaders where studies were made of how other States met the problem and legislative suggestions made.

During the year, Lee appeared more than 30 times before civic clubs, college groups and State and Federal agencies. One of his tenets is that "sensible, healthy development of the water resources of South Carolina cannot take place without good planning and management."

The Wildlife Federation judges took into consideration that bit of reasoning and the fact that Lee has been wholeheartedly behind such efforts.

As one observer of the environmental and ecological revolution put it: "The idealists have fought the engineers for many years. Now, with the two groups pulling in the same direction for once, there simply isn't any limit to what can be accomplished."

Whatever happens, Col. Burke W. Lee, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the district he commands, can head on into the continuing battle for clean waters with the satisfaction of a job well done last year.

**TAX FREE FOUNDATIONS LOBBY ILLEGALLY FOR SOCIALISM, SUBVERSION, AND COMMUNISM**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 7, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in an interesting and illuminating article entitled "The Invisible Empire," columnist

Kevin P. Phillips spotlights an inequitable situation which cries for reform. I am referring to the preferred status which certain tax exempt foundations continue to enjoy even though they continue to violate section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code which states the qualifications for tax exemption of an organization as follows:

(3) Corporations, and any community chest, fund or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

The code further provides that an organization will be regarded as trying to influence legislation if it:

(a) Contacts, or urges the public to contact, members of the legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting or opposing legislation; or

(b) Advocates the adoption or rejecting of legislation.

It logically follows that an organization engaged in political activity will not be granted a tax exempt status and that an organization already enjoying such a status should forfeit it if the organization should engage in political activities. The fact is as pointed out by Mr. Phillips, that many tax exempt organizations have been for a long time violating the law without suffering any penalty or loss of their tax exemption.

Two special congressional committees—the Cox Committee in 1952 and the Rhee Committee in the 83d Congress—exposed the misuse of resources by tax exempt foundations for un-American and subversive activities. Apparently no action has been taken by the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service nor by the Congress to correct this situation.

While tax free foundations perform appropriate functions as prescribed by law, many of them have abused their privilege by engaging in such matters as paying honorariums to leftist speakers on campuses, awarding a \$640,000 grant to the Marxist oriented National Student Association, awarding a grant of \$350,000 to the licentious SIECUS organization which condones and promotes immorality, granting \$600,000 to the Southwest Council of La Raza Unida headed by a man cited as a Communist Party member by the Subversive Activity Control Board, and so forth.

It is unjust that small businessmen, factory workers, farmers, and other hardworking taxpayers—who produce in the free market economy to build America—must pay taxes while some tax exempt foundations, which accumulated its wealth through the free enterprise sys-

6 APRIL 1971

STATINTL

## Radio Ex-Staffers to Testify

# CIA Funds Hot Issue

By JOHN P. WALLACH

News American

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Former American staffers of Radio Free Europe (RFE) are prepared to testify in Congress that they had to sign an oath refusing to divulge multimillion dollar Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) bank-rolling of RFE on penalty of a maximum \$10,000 fine and 10-year prison sentence.

This and other disclosures, sources close to Sen. Clifford P. Case cautioned today, could seriously embarrass the Nixon administration if it decides to take an uncooperative approach to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, scheduled to begin on April 28.

CASE HAS spearheaded a Senate drive to strip RFE of what he charged in a recent speech were subsidies of "several hundred million dollars" from "secret" CIA funds which, the New Jersey Republican contended, have for 20 years made up almost the entire RFE budget.

In an attempt to force RFE and Moscow-beaming Radio Liberty (RL) to quit the pretense of acting as "private" organizations relying solely on voluntary contributions, Case introduced legislation in February to have both propaganda agencies funded through direct, acknowledged congressional appropriations.

Case has announced his intention to call to testify leading administration officials reportedly including Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird and CIA Director Richard Helms.

THE ADMINISTRATION is examining a series of options ranging from fighting to maintain the status quo, which could turn the hearings into a parade of disclosures about the extent of CIA involvement, to congressional funding, in much the same manner as the Voice of America (VOA) is financed.

The most workable compromise now appears to be setting up a public corporation to run RFE. The corporation would be funded by Congress but would retain a semi-private character that would

allow the U. S. government, whenever convenient, to deny association with RFE policies.

Congressional sources stress that funding the corporation would not involve any new money since the government already is footing the bill. It would allow transferring the \$33 million annual subsidy from secret CIA coffers to the open, congressional appropriation process.

THE ADMINISTRATION review is considered so sensitive that the White House has ordered it take place in the supersecret "Forty Committee," also known as the "Covert Action Group."

Although chaired by National Security Council chief Dr. Henry Kissinger, the mechanism is used only when a subject is considered too hot to go to the President through regular SC channels.

The Chief Executive is known to have had personal ties to several of RFE's most prominent backers and to have strong feelings about RFE's importance in Europe.

Case's bill, which proposed amending the Information and Education Act to provide funds for RFE, has attracted bipartisan support from several senators, including Harold Hughes, D-Iowa, Jacob K. Javits, R-N. Y. and J. William Fulbright, D-Ark.

They are prepared to press the issue as an example of the loss of congressional control over U. S. foreign policy.

CASE WAS understood to be ready to call former RFE staffers to testify that the CIA regularly assigned agents to two-year tours of duty at RFE headquarters in Munich, and that they masqueraded as accredited news correspondents on information-gathering missions all over Eastern Europe.

Other American employees were sooner or later required to sign a paper making them privy to the CIA connection, sources close to Case disclosed.

The document, they said, informed the Americans that RFE was a "project" of the CIA, that the employees were "officially" informed and that if he

divulges the information he becomes liable for the maximum punishment under Section 793 (D), Title 50, of the U. S. Code.

This section proscribes penalties up to \$10,000 and 10 years in prison, for the "communication of classified information by government officer or employee."

## Polish Radio Spy Shifts His Attack To Role of Zionists

By ALFRED FRIENDLY Jr.  
Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, April 3—A Polish secret agent who worked for Radio Free Europe and recently returned here to publicize his exploits has shifted his attacks from the American Central Intelligence Agency to the role of "Zionist subversion."

But the 34-year-old spy, Capt. Andrzej Czechowicz, is not proving to be a very persuasive propagandist. Polish intellectuals say that he has cut an unconvincing figure in three television appearances since his first press conference March 10.

Western observers add that his attacks against Radio Free Europe may only have caused more Poles to tune in the Munich station to see what all the fuss was about.

On his return to Poland after eight years in the West, Capt. Czechowicz disclosed his findings that the C.T.A. financed and directed Radio Free Europe, in whose Polish language section he had worked.

As his revelations slipped from the front pages of the general press to a biographical series in the armed forces daily paper, *Zolnierz Wolnosci*, their tenor changed. Three of his last intelligence reports, cited in the March 28 issue of the official party paper, *Trybuna Ludu*, dealt mainly with what the paper called "the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign of Zionist organizations" aimed at "forcing the U.S.S.R. to permit emigration to Israel."

One of the Captain's files, given to the newspaper by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, spoke of "a secret conference" of prominent Zionists, supposedly including Israel's retired first Premier, David Ben-Gurion, held in the ultra-fashionable George V Hotel in Paris on Feb. 21. According to the Polish

agent, the Zionist leaders laid plans to boycott Soviet missions and cultural events and to enlist non-Jewish leaders in their campaign.

He also reported that Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the militant Jewish Defense League in New York, had received \$400,000 from the C.I.A. for a "secret terrorist fighting squad" called Hagana.

"All of this has turned out to be pretty stale stuff for Poles," commented a Western diplomat here. "Maybe if it had been presented by someone more plausible, it would have been effective propaganda, but so far it just seems to be making intelligent people snicker."

SYRACUSE, N.Y.  
HERALD-JOURNAL  
E - 129,656  
HERALD-AMERICAN  
S - 251,094  
MAR 29 1971

## Don't silence the truth

We are now seeing an undercover attack on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcast to the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

These services are funded by the C.I.A. and their operations run to about \$30 million a year.

Since this information on their funding was made public, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been called "undercover operations" for the C.I.A. and linked with other "spying" by the government.

Sen. Clifford Case, the New Jersey Republican, has demanded that Radio Free Europe be subject to congressional control.

For few Americans apparently realize how invaluable the two services are.

When Poles speak about "The Radio," they mean Radio Free Europe. To many Czechs, Radio Free Europe represents their own means of learning what is happening in-

side Czechoslovakia. It is the voice of "truth," one Czech said, adding, "please don't silence it."

When the Polish riots broke out in the port cities of Gdansk and Gdynia last December, the pressure of the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe and other western news media forced the Gomulka government to admit police had fired on workers.

When the 24th Soviet Party Congress convenes Tuesday Radio Liberty will be broadcasting more news about the meeting than the Russian People regularly listen to the broadcasts in Eastern Europe, and perhaps as many tune in the Soviet Union.

The dictators of Eastern Europe and the Kremlin would like to see Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty closed down. The continued jamming and harassment of these two stations by the communist regimes is the best testimonial to their worth.

President Nixon has ordered a study of alternative methods of financing them. It would be wiser if they were removed from C.I.A. funding if only to halt the sly undermining of these ledges of freedom.

BINGHAMTON, N.Y.  
PRESS

E - 79,881

S - 83,105

MAR 22 1971

## Piercing the Curtain

WHEN THEY TALK about "The Radio" in Poland, they mean Radio Free Europe (RFE).

And to many Czechs, RFE represents their only means of learning what is happening inside their country.

Behind what used to be called the Iron Curtain, RFE generally rates more respect than the Voice of America, simply because of the Voice's propaganda content.

But Radio Free Europe and its sister station, Radio Liberty, are in a certain amount of trouble.

They were based on a deception, a fiction that they were supported entirely by non-governmental contributions.

In fact, the twin stations were funded by the Central Intelligence Agency to the tune of about \$30,000,000 a year.

This disclosure was an embarrassment and the Nixon Administration has ordered a study of alternative financing, in an effort to remove the taint of an undercover operation.

RFE has made some mistakes over the years, possibly some very bad ones, particularly at the time of the Hungarian uprising in 1956.

By all accounts, though, it has so tightened standards, and objectivity is

so stressed, that its news output is almost bland, as judged in the West.

Radio Free Europe broadcasts 20 hours a day to Czechoslovakia, 19 hours each to Poland and Hungary, 12 hours to Romania and 7½ hours to Albania.

Radio Liberty broadcasts 24 hours a day in the 17 principal languages of the Soviet Union.

Most of the programming is news and political commentary, interspersed with such lighter fare as rock and pop music directed for the most part at a young audience.

The regimes in Eastern Europe, as well as the Kremlin, have for a long time been campaigning to get RFE and Radio Liberty off the air.

An estimated 31 million persons regularly listen to the broadcasts in Eastern Europe and perhaps as many more in the Soviet Union.

Radio Liberty already has been forced to lower its profile, as the expression goes, and the Kremlin is pressing for removal of RFE from Munich.

The continued jamming, harassment and denigration of the two stations may provide the best testimonial of their effectiveness.



# CIA 'Frees' Radio Free Europe

By ROBERT S. ELEGANT

MUNICH -- Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty almost invite public attack. Like other organizations improvised as Europe simultaneously recovered from World War II and split into antagonistic blocs, they are complexes of contradictions.

They operate in Munich, a Central European metropolis which is both the most cosmopolitan and most regionalistic German city. American controlled, they broadcast exclusively to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and are staffed largely by natives of those countries.



Elegant

They are emphatically -- and obviously -- not engaged in espionage. No spy-master still outside the psychiatrists' clutches would recruit agents publicly known in their home countries and, therefore, subject to pressure. Both stations' operations are quite open, since they must assume that they harbor many informants.

\* \* \*

BOTH stations are financed primarily by the Central Intelligence Agency. Paradoxically, CIA funding grants freedom from the kind of bureaucratic or political interference that follows support by Congress or private groups. Neither station is as constrained as the official U.S. organ, the Voice of America.

Lately, RFE and Radio Liberty have been taking a public hammering in both East and West.

Official Communist attacks at least display the virtue of logic. Authoritarian governments are understandably distressed by outsiders' challenging their monopoly of information. Their peoples,

unlike the bureaucrats, feel their lives enlarged by the flow of information and ideas regarding both their own problems and the outside world.

Attacks in the West are levelled by the wrong people for the wrong reasons.

They should come from the political Neanderthals who still want to "roll back the Iron Curtain" by encouraging revolt in Communist countries. Cold warriors, dedicated to destroying the Communists by insurrection or war, could object to both stations' "soft line." They could logically complain because neither station seeks to provoke -- but, rather, to prevent -- violence.

\* \* \*

TRUE liberals should support the stations' aims: free information and East-West relaxation. Fundamental rapprochement between East and West is impossible as long as insecure Eastern governments must rule by physical and psychological repression. The threat of Western designs on lost territories, used to justify repression, perpetuates Cold War tension.

Communist governments will remain insecure as long as their peoples are dissatisfied with their economic and intellectual lot. Economic progress and intellectual relaxation can only occur when peoples and rulers engage in relatively open dialog.

Both RFE and Radio Liberty discuss the problem of peaceful evolution in Communist societies in language immediately comprehensible to generations trained in the intellectual discipline of Marxism. Both note -- and criticize -- the faults of the West, as well as of the East. Neither preaches 100 per cent "free enterprise" nor offers Western solutions to Eastern problems.

Neither purports to be anything other than an external station offering news and views from the outside world. In addition, both relay official Communist reports which might not otherwise

be heard in other Communist countries -- as well as internal dissident publications.

\* \* \*

DURING the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the recent Polish crisis, RFE's senior news executives personally checked every word broadcast. They deliberately avoided provocation.

It is impossible to prove it, but aimed repression of Polish workers might have been more violent and more protracted without RFE. Warsaw knew that RFE, which was monitoring local broadcasts, was giving a running account of the uprising not only to the Polish and East European peoples, but also to the outside world. In any event, Poland did not suffer a blood bath, but got a new government, more sensitive and conciliatory to popular wishes.

Officials of both stations inescapably evoke skepticism when they say their business is to put themselves out of business. Despite evolution in the Communist nations, it will be a long time before expanded freedom of expression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe make RFE and Radio Liberty superfluous. But neither broadcasts to Yugoslavia, and RFE was considering curtailing -- or even ending -- broadcasts to Czechoslovakia before Russian troops displaced the liberal Dubcek regime.

The fundamental point is simple. Neither tensions within Communist society nor tension between East and West would miraculously disappear if both stations went off the air tomorrow. Tensions might actually intensify because of frustrating lack of information.

Both stations are byproducts -- not causes -- of fundamental tensions. Despite their human imperfections, both seek to reduce internal and international tension by the best means yet known to man -- the freer flow of ideas and information.

MAR 20 1977

## Radio Free Europe Dispute

A QUESTION has been raised whether Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty should have been connected with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA.)

These twin services were created in 1950 and 1953, respectively, to broadcast the truth to people of the USSR and others behind the iron curtain.

The public was given the idea these agencies were supported entirely by private contributions. In fact, the CIA contributed \$30 million a year to them.

Now, quite properly, President Nixon has ordered a study of alternative methods of financing these stations, to remove any taint of undercover operation.

(However, we disapprove the idea of Sen. Clifford Case, R-N.J. to subject RFE to control of Congress. That would only seem to strengthen the argument of critics that RFE is only an official U.S. "mouth-piece.")

The CIA connection in no way diminishes the immense usefulness these projects have had for the free world — and should continue to have as long as the iron curtain persists.

When Poles talk about "The Radio," they mean RFE. To many Czechs, RFE represents their only means of learning what is happening inside Czechoslovakia.

As one writer told Editorial Research Reports in Prague last summer: "RFE is far better than the Voice of America." While the propaganda content of the Voice annoys the Czechs, he said, RFE "tells us things about our own leaders which we cannot hear elsewhere."

When the Polish riots broke out in the port cities of Gdansk and Gdynia last December, it was the pressure of the broadcasts by RFE and other western news media which forced the Communist government to admit that police fired on the workers.

When the Polish regime tried to suppress the truth, RFE objectively attempted to reconstruct events.

Similarly, when the 24th Soviet Party Congress convenes on March 30, Radio Liberty will be broadcasting more news about the meeting than the Russian people will obtain by newspapers or television.

True, RFE was criticized for allegedly having raised false hopes in Hungary that the West might intervene in the vain 1956 uprising against the Reds there.

But it may well be this was just faulty communication with the government. If RFE had been simply the "puppet voice" of the U.S., as some have implied, it's doubtful if the mixup would have occurred.

To counteract criticism, Nathan Kingsley, present RFE news director, notes how objective the service is. In most cases no story is used on the air unless it can be checked against another source.

Maybe the best clue to the value of RFE and Radio Liberty is that both the Kremlin and other Red regimes in eastern Europe long have been campaigning to see the two projects halted.

An estimated 31 million people regularly listen to the broadcasts elsewhere in eastern Europe, and perhaps as many more in the USSR itself.

The U.S. attitude should be: "Sure we'll stop these broadcasts, when two things happen:

"First, after people behind the iron curtain are told as much about what free world people are saying as our people learn about what Communist people are saying.

"Second, after the Reds give up their goal of trying to communize everybody else."

NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL APPROVES SAFE SCHOOLS ACT OF 1971

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM  
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 17, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on February 1, in response to the growing problem of criminal activity in the schools of New York and other cities against students, teachers, and administrators, I introduced in the House the Safe Schools Act of 1971. This legislation would provide Federal assistance to school districts to deal with this problem. No such Federal assistance is available under existing educational assistance programs.

A great many local and national organizations, representing parents and educators, have endorsed this legislation.

I am now delighted to report that a resolution endorsing my bill was introduced in the New York City Council by Councilman-at-Large Aileen B. Ryan, and was unanimously adopted on February 19. The text of the resolution follows:

**Resolution No. 407**

Resolution calling upon Congress to pass the "Safe Schools Act" which would combat crime in the elementary and secondary schools

Whereas, The incidence of crime in schools has reached astronomical proportions; and

Whereas, A congressional study of 110 school districts across the country has revealed that since 1963 school robberies have increased by 366%; aggravated assaults by 43%; burglaries and larcenies by 86%; assaults on teachers by 7,100%; narcotics abuse 1,000%; weapons offenses 136%; assaults on students 167% and drunkenness 179%; and

Whereas, In the year 1970, in New York City, 253 assaults were made upon teachers and vandalism alone amounted to a loss of over 5 million dollars; and

Whereas, Problem children, delinquents and student gangs are ravaging the schools and public transit facilities enroute to school, using them as their hunting grounds and threatening and intimidating students; and

Whereas, A bill, sponsored by Representative Jonathan B. Bingham, of The Bronx proposes that federal funds be channeled directly to school districts where they would be used for expansion and training of security guards, parent patrols, the installation of surveillance and alarm systems, student identification badges and to improve community relations; and

Whereas, The present atmosphere of anxiety and fear on the part of students interferes with learning while the cost of educational staffs is steadily increasing; and

Whereas, School children, who will be the parents, professionals, and leaders of the future should be insulated from interference with their learning progress; and

Whereas, School authorities are unable to deal with the present situation due to lack of funds and planned security and crime control programs to counter the present menace; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Council of The City of New York calls upon Congress to pass the "Safe Schools Act" which would combat crime in the elementary and secondary schools.

Adopted, February 19, 1971.

HOUSE TRAMPLES INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN  
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 17, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of all of the Members of the House of Representatives a perceptive article written in the Boston Sunday Globe of March 14, 1967, by S. J. Micciche, one of the able writers of the Globe Washington bureau.

The title of the article is "The House Tramples Individual Rights" and the subtitle of this piece is "Senate Voices Unheard in House Chamber."

Mr. Micciche recalls the debate on the floor of the House on March 2, 1971, with regard to a resolution of the House Internal Security Committee. Mr. Micciche reports that that resolution "balked at the request for clippings and transcripts—of the House Internal Security Committee—as being inconvenient and burdensome" for the staff of that committee to compile.

Mr. Micciche concludes that by the action of the House on March 2:

The plaintiffs in the constitutional test of the Committee's powers will get less than the full discovery ordered by the Federal Court.

In my judgment the denial by the House of Representatives of the basic evidence required by three witnesses subpoenaed by the former House Un-American Activities Committee in Chicago is another self-inflicted wound on the part of the Members of the House.

Mr. Micciche's article follows:

SENATE VOICES UNHEARD IN HOUSE CHAMBER:  
HOUSE TRAMPLES INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS  
(By S. J. Micciche)

WASHINGTON.—Being the political institution that it is, the Congress can be a source of immense contradiction at times.

Take this recent example:

There was the Senate, fearful of a debilitation of Constitutional rights from the ominous spectre of government snooping, particularly by the military, of American citizens engaged in non-violent social and political activities.

And across Capitol Hill, the House was denying basic judicial rights for the sake of convenience to the staff of the House Internal Security Committee.

The Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, deeply concerned as it is over unwarranted intrusions by Federal agencies into the private lives of Americans need look no further than to the Senate and House Internal Security committees for shuddering examples.

With privileged immunity cloaking their actions, these committees practice the star chamber art of vilification without trial, all perpetrated in the halcyon defense of the Constitution.

The practice of these committees is to take raw testimony in secret, often hearsay, speculative and opinionated, and later publish it without affected individuals having been heard. The result is too often a composite by inference and innuendo of allegations unsupported by evidence.

A Constitutional test of the existence of the House Internal Security Committee has been before the courts since 1963, when it was then the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The case has been up and down the judicial ladder to the US Supreme Court twice and is back before a US District Court in Illinois.

The test of the existence and powers of the House Committee is being raised by three Illinois residents who had been subpoenaed to testify before the old HUAC in May 1965 during its investigation of the Communist party in that state.

The day before the committee's hearing in Chicago, the trio filed suit asking the Federal courts to declare unconstitutional the reaction of the HUAC in 1945 and to enjoin its successor from holding hearings.

The Illinois residents appeared before the committee but walked out after answering preliminary questions. They were cited by the House for contempt of Congress.

In the latest action on their suit against the House committee, a three judge Federal court ordered last Dec. 7 that the three plaintiffs were entitled to the discovery of information essential to their case and held by the committee.

To support their case that the conduct of the House committee consists of "exposure of witnesses . . . to public scorn, obloquy and harassment and intimidation of witnesses without any legislative purpose," they asked the committee for its files of newspaper clippings and unedited transcripts, among other items.

Since the House is the exclusive keeper of its own records, a vote of the branch was necessary.

But US Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.), Internal Security chairman, balked at the request for clippings and transcripts as being inconvenient and burdensome for his staff to compile, going back to 1945. He sought permission of the House to refuse.

US Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.), a committee member, opposed his chairman, holding that "it is not for the members of the House . . . to decide upon the relevancy or materiality of evidence decreed by a Federal court to be the inherent right of plaintiffs in litigation."

Drinan, who would like to see the internal security committee abolished, said the denial of all documents sought by the plaintiff would be a "deprivation of basic justice to these individuals . . . who have been told they have a basic right" to it by a Federal court.

But at the finish, Ichord got his way on a 291-63 vote. The plaintiffs in the constitutional test of the committee's powers will get less than the full discovery ordered by the Federal court.

And meanwhile, the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights continued to amass voluminous evidence of Federal agencies trampling upon basic individual rights, though obviously not within earshot of the House chamber.

BROUGHT TO YOU BY THE CIA

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 17, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, seemingly the American taxpayers, already overburdened, continue to pay the bill for many useless and costly pet projects of the far right and the far left, both in this country and abroad.

There are many who feel that the time has come to tighten the belt on many of these costly fringe programs. It has de-

FORT WORTH, TEX.  
STAR-TELEGRAM

MAR 1 6 1971  
M - 102,470  
S - 218,306

## Waging War of Words Necessary for Nation

Near the West German city of Munich are transmitters for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The former beams its broadcasts to Russian satellite nations and the latter to the Soviet Union. Their mission has been to penetrate the Iron Curtain with the truth and keep alive the spirit of freedom. Both are supported by private funds. They deny any guidance from official Washington.

Their broadcasts are not the hate-filled emotional outpourings that Communist denunciations make them out to be. Radio Liberty concentrates on cultural affairs. It welcomes a humorous treatment, shuns sarcasm. Radio Free Europe, with large research and investigatory facilities, tries to expose the difficulties of the Communist leaders, never exploit them. In one case it exposed the luxurious life style of a Romanian official, who soon was demoted and transferred.

The results, say both organizations, gives them a ready audience, particularly among young people who are bored by the monolithic fare offered by their state radios.

West Germany is now seeking a friendlier relationship with Eastern Europe and would just as soon see the two stations move away. There has been an unsupported charge that RFE receives Central Intelligence Agency funds. There are complaints the stations are no longer needed, since both West Germany and the United States now talk about negotiation instead of confrontation with the Communist world. A similar station, Voice of America, is supported by American taxes.

For a whole generation we poohpooched totalitarian propaganda. It sounded so ridiculous — to us — that no one could possibly believe it. But a lot of people did, and our role as emerging leader of the free world was not made easier by the lies. Communist propaganda still influences millions, including some Communist leaders who succumb to the persuasiveness of their own words.

Words can be as effective as tanks, but are a lot cheaper. We certainly don't need fewer facilities by which to employ them to counteract their twisted use by our foes.

# Embattled Radio Free Europe Defends Role

STATINTL

By DAVID BENDER  
Special to The New York Times

BONN, March 14 — Shortly before midnight last Dec. 15, a 51-year-old native of Poland named Andrzej Przewoski sat languorously in a ground-floor monitoring studio of the Radio Free Europe building in Munich listening simultaneously to two regional broadcasts from Poland.

The strongest transmitter at the northern port of Szczecin was playing music. Suddenly the other transmitter at the port of Gdansk cut in underneath the music with a communiqué. It was 11:32 P.M.

What Mr. Przewoski heard was the first official word from Poland that there had been violent demonstrations in Gdansk and that the Communist authorities had imposed a curfew there and in nearby Gdynia and Sopot.

By spreading the word in powerful broadcasts to Poland during the following days, Radio Free Europe undoubtedly contributed to the spread of anti-Government riots beyond the Gdansk area and to the subsequent change of leadership in Warsaw.

## News-Gathering Stressed

But in their almost missionary dedication to the idea of performing as a free press for Communist countries in Europe, the station's officials tend to stress another aspect of their work. They see their Polish reporting as a characteristic instance of how the United States-sponsored station stays on top of and occasionally ahead of the news — not just Eastern European news but the news of the entire world.

Nonetheless, Radio Free Europe has come under criticism recently.

In January, Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, demanded that the station be subject to Congressional control. He noted that Radio Free Europe was financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, despite its "claim to be nongovernmental" and to be "sponsored by private contributions."

Last Wednesday in Warsaw, Andrzej Czechowicz, who had worked for the station in Munich for six years, appeared before more than 100 newsmen to disclose that he had gone to Munich as a member of the Polish Interior Ministry's intelligence service.

Mr. Czechowicz, 33 years old, denounced Radio Free Europe as a "subversive transmitter" aimed at subverting Communist rule in Poland, and he boasted that he had up-



"Slander in Europe," seen by Soviet magazine Krokodil

Free Europe "agents in People's Poland." He declined to say how many or who they were.

## Olympics an Issue

Regarding the timing of Mr. Czechowicz's revelations, Communist sources have remarked that Eastern European Governments are waging a campaign against the station in an effort to dislodge it before the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.

Yesterday in Lausanne, Switzerland, the International Olympic Committee said it would ask Radio Free Europe and its sister station in Munich, Radio Liberty, not to broadcast what it termed propaganda during the Olympics next summer.

Although Radio Free Europe broadcast live from the Mexico City Olympics in 1968 and covers other sports competitions, it is events such as the riots in Poland that are given the station's main attention. And the Munich staff is proud of what it sees as the competitiveness, comprehensiveness and objectivity of its coverage.

A little over 14 years ago Radio Free Europe was confronted with a similar situation during the Hungarian uprising. But its response in 1956 was quite different.

Then, in a critical moment, a commentator broadcast a translation of an English newspaper editorial suggesting that Soviet troops would come to their rescue

The transmission was more or less in keeping with Radio Free Europe's policy of that day, which was attuned to the position of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that Communist power in Eastern Europe could be "rolled back" and the Soviet satellites "liberated."

The station was then, as it is now, financed almost entirely by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, with an annual budget said to be more than \$21-million. Its Munich director, Ralph Walter, is a C.I.A. man, as are other officials here.

According to a source long familiar with the operation, American employees brought into the inner circle of the station were sooner or later required to sign a paper making them privy to the C.I.A. connection.

The source described the text as saying: The undersigned has been informed that Radio Free Europe is a project of the C.I.A. and that the C.I.A. provides funds for operation of this organization. The undersigned has now been officially informed. If he divulges this information to a third party, he becomes liable for a fine and punishment not to exceed 210,000 and 10 years in prison.

To his knowledge, the source said, the punishment sometimes smacks of Spring

occasionally carried the station's staff members into activities smacking more of espionage than of ordinary news-gathering. He spoke of assignments by Radio Free Europe being given regularly accredited newspaper correspondents to enter Eastern European countries on missions for the station. "They were paid by R.F.E. to bring back specific information."

The source said he was also aware of the participation of station employees in escape networks aiding Eastern Europeans in flights from their countries. Finally, the source spoke of continuing contacts between station personnel and residents of several Soviet bloc countries for information-gathering purposes.

## 1956 Was a 'Watershed'

The crushing of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 by Soviet armor also led to the crushing of cold-war agitation by Radio Free Europe and, in less dramatic form, at the Munich station aimed at the Soviet Union and then called Radio Liberation.

At Radio Free Europe commentators and policy advisers were dismissed or shifted to innocuous jobs. Radio Liberation changed its name to Radio Liberty and gradually toned down its more aggressive commentaries.

"It was a watershed, a great shock for the square-jawed freedom fighters, and it forced a change of staff, outlook and leadership," recalled James F. Brown, a 42-year-old Englishman who directs the station's research and analysis section. "To listen to some of our Hungarian commentators today you would think they were Kadarites" — followers of the party chief, Janos Kadar.

Noel Bernard, the Rumanian commentator who was here in the early period, describes the change this way:

"Before 1956 we were an agitation station, telling people what to do, how to take advantage of certain laws. Now we are an informational station, a detached, constructive critic."

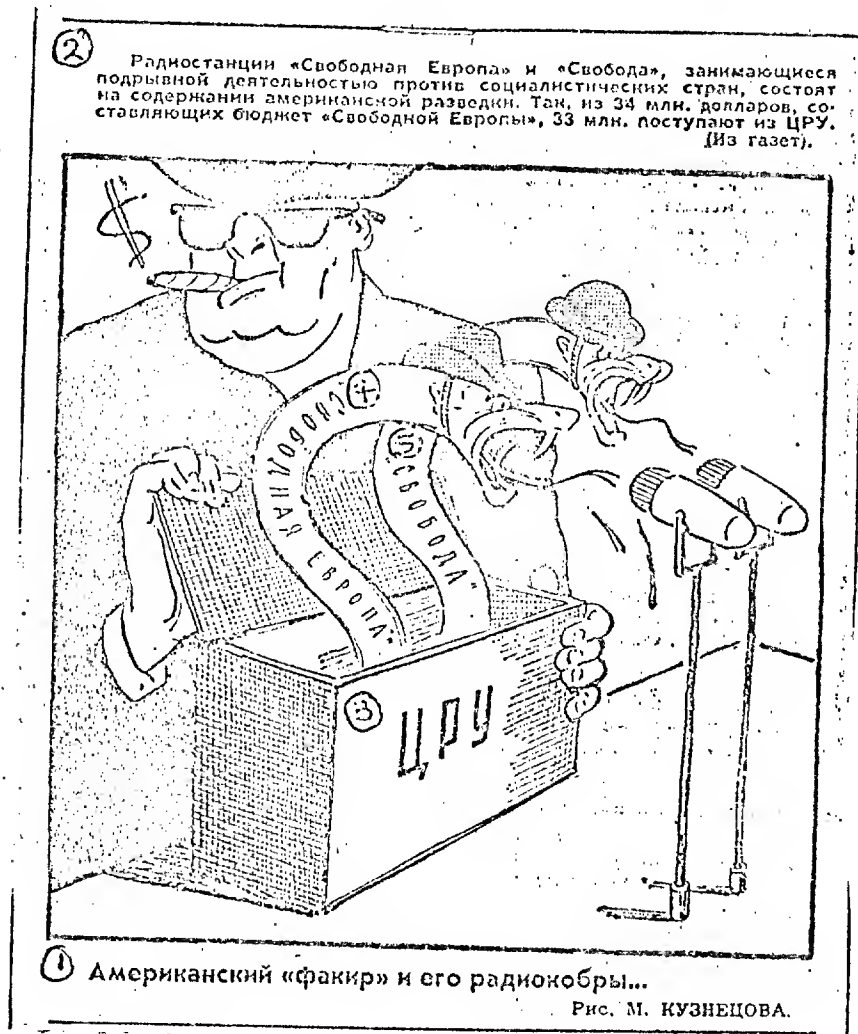
At Radio Liberty, which broadcasts in 17 of the Soviet Union's major languages, the policy shift was effected by persuading the Russian émigrés who were broadcasters that calm, objective reporting and commentary worked better than "mere condemnation."

## A Professional Staff

A visitor finds that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are staffed by specialists in their fields. Radio Free Europe has numerous former employees who have gone on to

## TRANSLATION OF ANTI-CIA CARTOON TEXT

Moscow, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 13 March 1971, p 4



1. The American "fakir" and his radio cobras.
2. Radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe," engaged in subversive activity against socialist countries, exist with the support of American intelligence. Thus, of its budget of \$34 million, "Free Europe" obtains \$33 million from the CIA.
3. CIA;      4. "Free Europe";      5. "Liberty"



CHICAGO, ILL.  
NEWS

E - 456,183

MAR 12 1977

CIA link  
cut; Radio  
Europe gladBy Donald R. Shearer  
Daily News Foreign Service

VIENNA — Reports from Washington of White House plans to remove Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty from their CIA sponsorship are being received with considerable relief by the two stations' 3,000 employees.

RFE, which broadcasts to eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty, whose target is the Soviet Union, have been under increasing attack from the Communists since the disclosures of CIA financing by Sen. Clifford Case (R-N.J.).

Case brought to public attention what had been an open secret for many years, but the disclosure came at a particularly unfortunate time for the stations.

Radio Liberty was under concentrated attack from the Soviets for broadcasting the texts of books written by dissident Soviet authors. RFE was made a scapegoat for the Polish riots of December.

THE MUNICH Olympics next year was being used by the Soviet and bloc regimes as the deadline for the dismantling of the two Munich stations. The Communists never said flatly that their teams would boycott the games unless the stations were ousted, but this was the implication.

As if these reasons were not enough, there was the additional one of the stations' presence in West Germany constituting a hindrance to Chancellor Willy Brandt's new foreign policy opening to the east.

The Washington reports suggest that a new independent agency may be formed to fund and supervise the stations. If this is done, it will remove one of the main Communist arguments, that they are diversionary weapons in the global cold war of the CIA, as one recent Soviet comment put it.

THE COMMUNIST attacks, of course, will continue. But the stations already have detected one indication that the Soviets do not intend to try to force them out of Munich in the next two years.

When Munich Mayor Hans Joachim Vogel visited Moscow last month, he was assured that the Soviets would be sending a strong team to the 1972 Olympics, and nothing was mentioned about RFE or Radio Liberty.

STATINTL

MIAMI HERALD

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

# CIA Cash Linked to Broadcasts

## Officer Describes Free Radio Role

WARSAW.—(UPI) -- Information about Poland collected by Radio Free Europe is passed straight to the American Central Intelligence Agency, a Polish intelligence officer who worked for the station for six years said.

Capt. Andrzej Czechowicz, 34, told newsmen all of the information collected by the station is first evaluated.

"The most interesting reports were taken by the intelligence service and only 10-15 per cent of the material was given to the editors," he said.

"After six years with Radio Free Europe, I can say with full certainty the institution is paid for and controlled by the CIA," he said.

HE SAID of the station's annual budget of \$34 million, \$30 million comes from the CIA.

This tied in with statements by New Jersey Republican Sen. Clifford P. Case, who said in January Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, get \$30 million a year from secret CIA funds.

Czechowicz, who worked as a researcher for the station from 1965 until early this year, said he obtained documents to back up his figures and some of these would

He said he applied to work for Radio Free Europe after asking for political asylum in West Germany. Czechowicz said he was investigated by "U.S. intelligence service officers" before being given a job.

THE SPY, grandson of a Polish nobleman who took part in the revolt against Czarist Russia, said the chief of the Polish section, who he identified as a "Mr. Novak," is a CIA agent.

Czechowicz said the station's editors have specific instructions about the line they are to take in news and commentaries.

"They have instructions not to attack top people but posts. They are to create the only those who hold lower impression that there are factions within the (Communist) party and that a power struggle is going on."

HE SAID he had discovered the names of a number of people in Poland who have secretly been supplying information to Radio Free Europe. But he declined to say how many.

"Radio Free Europe has its informants in Poland and they include some individual persons and some who act on a permanent basis, as well as the foreign correspondents."

"I feel no regret towards these people," Czechowicz said. "They did everything consciously, they were perfidious. I have no scruples about them."

(IN MUNICH, a spokesman for Radio Free Europe said a man named Andrzej Czechowicz, 33, worked in the station's Polish section as a reader of Polish-language periodicals.

(The spokesman said Czechowicz, an employee since 1965, had not reported to work this week.

(He described Czechowicz's position as "subordinate" and said the man had been working on the station's finances).



WASHINGTON POST

12 MAR 1971

STATINTL

# Pole Says He Was a Spy Inside Radio Free Europe

From News Dispatches

WARSAW, March 11 -- A Polish intelligence officer claimed yesterday that he infiltrated the U.S.-financed Radio Free Europe, worked in its Munich headquarters for five years and unmasked several of its informers in Poland.

Capt. Andrzej Czechowicz, 34, told a government-organized news conference he left Poland eight years ago posing as a political refugee with an aristocratic background.

His travels, he claimed, took him to England, a political refugee camp near Nuremberg in West Germany, into the British Rhine army as a soldier for 10 months and finally, in 1966, to Radio Free Europe.

RFE, which beams broadcasts into Iron Curtain countries,

came under fire in the United States in January when Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said most of its funds come from the Central Intelligence Agency.

"I must state," Czechowicz said, "that Radio Free Europe is engaged in detailed activity in the service of the American intelligence, not only in socialist countries but also in Western countries, for example in Austria, France, Sweden and other countries. A lively exchange of espionage information and services in this blossoming in the Munich center."

Czechowicz said a job with Radio Free Europe "means cooperation with the employees of the U.S. intelligence service."

Working for Radio Free Europe, he said, "opens the door to the most secret department, the so-called East Europe analysis and research department."

Czechowicz said "only 20 to 30 per cent of the materials gathered by the Free Europe Radio were used as a basis for broadcasts . . . The rest of them constituted valuable intelligence material."

RFE employees, he said, were

expected to gather information from tourists and agent-informers arriving from socialist countries.

Radio Free Europe has been attacked with increasing frequency by Eastern European governments in recent months, and the West German government has been under pressure to refuse to renew its license.

Czechowicz said its activities were "becoming an obstacle on the road to the normalization of relations of that country with Eastern Europe."

[In Munich, an RFE spokesman said Czechowicz had worked in a minor capacity in the station's Polish research section. The spokesman said his most recent assignment was to read Polish newspapers and periodicals and select items for publication in the station's summary of the Polish press.]

TOP SECRET SECRET CONFIDENTIAL (UNCLASSIFIED)

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R001100090001-3

DISTRIBUTION:

DDCI  
ExD  
DNIPE  
DDI  
DDP(2)  
DOCI  
ONE  
OSR  
OSI(2)  
C/OPCN  
PDB  
INDICO  
CSDO  
IW  
SAVA  
OSD

e  
fe  
wh  
mea

*Press Item for the DCI*

Date: 11 Mar 71

Item: No. 5

STATINTL Ref: No. \_\_\_\_\_

GOODWIN



UPI-21

(RADIO FREE EUROPE)

WARSAW--INFORMATION ABOUT POLAND COLLECTED BY RADIO FREE EUROPE IS PASSED STRAIGHT TO THE AMERICAN CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, A POLISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICER WHO WORKED FOR THE STATION FOR SIX YEARS SAID YESTERDAY.

CAPT. ANDRZEJ CZECHOWICZ, 34, TOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE ALL OF THE INFORMATION COLLECTED BY THE STATION IS FIRST EVALUATED.

"THE MOST INTERESTING REPORTS WERE TAKEN BY THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE AND ONLY 10-15 PER CENT OF THE MATERIAL WAS GIVEN TO THE EDITORS," HE SAID.

"AFTER SIX YEARS WITH RADIO FREE EUROPE I CAN SAY WITH FULL CERTAINTY THE INSTITUTION IS PAID FOR AND CONTROLLED BY THE CIA," HE SAID.

HE SAID OF THE STATION'S ANNUAL BUDGET OF \$34 MILLION, \$30 MILLION COMES FROM THE CIA.

3/11--GE944A

Comment Goodwin and CSDO have copies.

70 MAR 1971

WILL TELL AGENT'S STORY

STATINTL

## Poland Says It Spied on Radio Free Europe

WARSAW (UPI)—Polish intelligence planted a spy in Radio Free Europe's Munich headquarters and his story will be told by this nation's newspapers, television and radio, the government news agency PAP said Tuesday.

Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts to Communist Eastern Europe, employs dozens of Poles and other exiles in its broadcasting and translation rooms.

### Target of Protests

Most Communist countries have complained about its activities and a persistent campaign to have it shut down has increased recently with the Eastern Europeans saying it has no place in a city where the 1972 Olympic Games will be held.

PAP's announcement said:

"A Polish intelligence officer from the Ministry of Internal Affairs returned home Monday after fulfilling a special task in Munich.

"Until the very day of his return, he worked for many years for the so-called Polish Radio Free Europe in Munich.

"The Polish public will be informed in detail about his activity in the coming days by the press, radio and television," the announcement said.

### Press Coverage

The statement was carried by all Warsaw newspapers and read over Radio Warsaw.

On Jan. 23, Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) said both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, had received secret funds totaling \$30 million yearly from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

(In Munich, a spokesman for Radio Free Europe said he was unable to comment on the PAP story "until we have a name to deal with." He said, "We have a number of Polish employees on sick leave and vacation."

(However, he added, "we have had our personnel department checking and there are indications that one person has not turned up who should have been at work Monday.")

*Warsaw Says It Planted Spy in Radio Free Europe*

WARSAW, March 9 (UPI)—The Polish press agency, P.A.P., said today that Warsaw had planted an intelligence agent in Radio Free Europe's news room in Munich and that his account would be made public by Poland's news media.

Radio Free Europe, a radio station reportedly operated with covert United States Government support, broadcasts to Eastern Europe. It employs Poles and other exiles in its broadcasting and translation rooms.

Most Soviet-bloc countries have complained about its activities and a persistent campaign to have it shut down has increased, recently, with the Eastern Europeans saying that it has no place in a city where the 1972 Olympics will be held.

"A Polish intelligence officer from the Ministry of Internal Affairs returned home Monday after fulfilling a special task in Munich," the Polish agency said.

"Until the very day of his return, he worked for many

years for the Polish section of the so-called Radio Free Europe in Munich.

"The Polish public will be informed in detail about his activity in the coming days by the press, radio and television." The statement was made public by Warsaw's newspapers and the Warsaw radio.

On Jan. 23 Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, said that both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to the Soviet Union, have received \$20-million

yearly from the Central Intelligence Agency.

**Employee Believed Missing**  
MUNICH, March 9 (UPI)—A spokesman for Radio Free Europe said today that he was unable to comment on the Polish report "until we have a name to deal with."

"We have had our personnel department checking and there are indications that one person has not turned up who should have been at work Monday," he said.

CAMBRIDGE, MD.

BANNER

MAR 9 1971

E - 6,414

**EDITORIALS****Radio Free Europe**

In the past the "Daily Banner" has called on readers to support Radio Free Europe with their dollars. But we won't be doing that any more in the light of disclosures that the Central Intelligence Agency has clandestinely been supporting the project.

Past financial campaigns for Radio Free Europe have been misleading inasmuch as they claimed that this had been a privately-supported effort to beam the truth through the Iron Curtain to listeners in the Communist bloc countries. Touching stories have been told to describe what such a radio station has meant to residents of countries where their governments control all the means of public information.

Senator Clifford Case has charged that the CIA has spent several hundred million dollars in the past 20 years to keep Radio Free Europe in business. Contributions from the general public and from foundations are said to have been almost zero in the two decades. Radio Free Europe carried out this charade by being coy about its financial statement. Until Senator Case's disclosure, there was no hint that Radio Free Europe was in effect an arm of the federal government and not at all a project of the American people at large, as we had been led to believe.

By whatever name you wish to call it, Radio Free Europe is as much a propaganda instrument as Radio Moscow. Since it's ours, of course, Radio Free Europe is usually given high marks for high-mindedness. The Communist-controlled nations' in fiscal year 1969, got more than \$20 million worth of such high-mindedness. At the same time, American publishers and broadcasters made available from \$12 million to \$20 million worth of free space and time to tell the public to get behind Radio Free Europe with its dimes and dollars.

Started in the days of the cold war, Radio Free Europe has "just kept rolling along," in the words of one Congressional critic who sees less justification for the U.S. propaganda effort now than existed when this nation and Russia were at swords points. He points out that four years ago President Johnson accepted an investigating committee's recommendation that "no Federal agency shall provide covert financial assistance or support, direct or indirect, to any of the nation's educational or voluntary organizations . . ."

In the view of Senator Case and others of a similar mind, the time has come for the CIA to put its hands on the table as far as Radio Free Europe is concerned. If proposed legislation is adopted, Radio Free Europe will be funded like any other normal federal operation and that agency will no longer be able to play upon the sympathies of Americans who had the feeling that this was the place where they could make a direct contribution to the nation's war on communism.

STATINTL

CLEVELAND, OHIO  
PLAIN DEALER

M - 409,414  
S - 545,032

MAR 9 1971

## Stay on the Air

Whatever the method of financing them, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should remain on the air. The two stations, based in West Germany, have been secretly funded by the Central Intelligence Agency since they were established 20 years ago. ✓

Now that the truth is known, President Nixon has ordered a study of alternative methods of supporting the two broadcasting outlets. They beam programs to the Communist nations of eastern Europe.

Some congressmen favor the creation of an independent agency to run the stations. It might be less of an embarrassment to West Germany than having the stations financed by the CIA. ✓

The important consideration is that they continue to exist and to counteract Communist propaganda.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 :  


FBIS 02

POLISH SPY'S RETURN FROM MUNICH

WARSAW PAP INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 2330 GMT 8 MAR 71 L

(EMBARGOED UNTIL 0500 GMT MARCH 9TH)

(SUCCESS OF POLISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE --PAP HEADLINE)

(TEXT) WARSAW 8 MARCH--PAP HAS LEARNT THAT ON MARCH 8TH, 1971, A POLISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICE OFFICER RETURNED FROM MUNICH, HAVING CARRIED OUT A SPECIAL MISSION IN THAT CITY. FOR MANY YEARS, UP TO HIS RETURN HOME, HE WORKED AT THE SO-CALLED POLISH SECTION OF THE "FREE EUROPE" RADIO IN MUNICH. THE PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE INFORMED ABOUT DETAILS OF HIS ACTIVITY IN THE "FREE EUROPE" RADIO BY THE PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

9 MAR 0044Z JZ

DENVER, COLO.  
ROCKY MT. NEWS

MAR 7 1971  
M - 192,279  
S - 209,887

## The CIA and broadcasting

SEN. CLIFFORD P. CASE, R-N.J., may or may not have been helpful in disclosing that two "private" stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, are largely financed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Both stations are based in Munich, Germany, and broadcast to the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. For many millions behind the Iron Curtain, they are the only reliable source of news about the outside world and the listener's own country.

Naturally, the Communist regimes of East Europe fear and dislike such holes in their public-information monopoly. So they are leaping with great propagandistic glee on Case's disclosure that some \$30 million of the stations' \$34 million annual cost comes from the CIA.

Unfortunately, the issue is embarrassing West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. Brandt is struggling to improve relations with Russia and the satellites. Now they are pressing him to evict the "CIA stations" from German soil as a step toward normal relations.

For years RFE's and Radio Liberty's ties to the CIA had been an open secret. Case, however, has made them official and given the Communist bloc propaganda ammunition.

One result may be to reduce the stations' credibility in East Europe. Over the years, the governments there have labored to turn the CIA into a dirty word (while playing down their own more vicious intelligence organizations).

Case is not trying to halt broadcasting to the Soviet bloc. He just wants to bring it out in the open and has introduced a bill to appropriate \$30 million to RFE and Radio Liberty. The stations' activities would then come under the scrutiny of Congress.

Such a move is probably overdue. Cutting the CIA ties will not only make the stations less vulnerable to attack but also will improve their chances of staying on in Munich.

President Nixon should consider turning the stations into a public corporation with a board of directors of businessmen, diplomats, broadcasters and scholars specializing in East Europe. The corporation could be openly funded by Congress and be responsible to it for its activities.

However the problem is solved, one thing should be stressed: We must continue broadcasting news, commentary and entertainment to the subjects of Communist regimes until their rulers give them more than just one slated side of every story.



## U.S. REEVALUATES ROLE IN ANTI-RED RADIO

### Studies Open Backing of Two Munich-Based Stations

By BENJAMIN WEILES

WASHINGTON, March 6 — President Nixon has ordered a study of alternative methods of financing the United States government's two chief clandestine radio stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, qualified sources report.

One possibility being weighed would be a request to Congress to create a new independent agency to run the stations. This solution, which some legislators favor, would keep the stations functioning through Congressional appropriation to remove them from day-to-day government control as arms of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The president's order is said to stem from public disclosures made Jan. 23 by Senator Clifford P. Case, Republican of New Jersey, that both stations, established 20 years ago to broadcast to countries of the Soviet bloc, have been secretly funded by the Central Intelligence Agency at a total of \$30 million yearly.

Mr. Case and Representative Ogden Reid, Republican of New York, have introduced legislation designed to keep the stations functioning through open Congressional appropriations. Radio Liberty aims its broadcasts at the Soviet Union, and Radio Free Europe at Eastern Europe.

#### Publicity Ends Fiction

President Nixon is reported to feel that the publicity has stripped away the fiction that the stations, with offices in New York and broadcasting facilities in Western Europe, are nongovernmental and funded entirely by private contributions.

While the true nature of the stations has been widely known, the official posture has permitted them to continue broadcasting from Munich and has enabled the West German Government to deflect East European protests on the ground that the stations were private.

The task of coming up with a set of proposals has been turned over to the so-called Forty Committee, named for a National Security Council memorandum number 40 defining its duties. The panel meets frequently in the White House under Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser.

It runs the Government's most sensitive covert operations, and its members include Richard M. Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, and representatives of the State, Defense and Justice departments.

#### Several Options Studied

The Forty Committee is said to have delegated the President's directive to an interagency panel comprising the State Department, the C.I.A. and the United States Information Agency. The last, nominally under State Department control, runs the Voice of America, the Government's overt broadcasting arm.

According to legislative sources, the options now being considered include placing the stations under a new independent board, under the National Science Foundation, under the Information Agency, or even maintaining the present arrangement.

The U.S.I.A. is said to oppose having covert broadcasting duties added to its overt functions. Agency officials said that this would give the Government the appearance of "talking out of both sides of its mouth" at the same time.

Whereas, the Voice of America broadcasts government policy and views openly, both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcast news items derived from secret sources, U.S.I.A. officials said. Many items are inimical to Communism, to the policies of Soviet-bloc governments and even to specific officials, and could not be broadcast by an official United States Government agency, they say.

#### Science Outlet Opposed

While the possibility of placing the stations under the National Science Foundation has not been officially presented to the White House, it is likely to be resisted in Congress, sources there say. They note that the foundation was created by Congress in 1950 for the purpose of sponsoring scientific and educational research.

"The credibility of the United States is at stake," said Repre-

ing to close down R.F.E. or R.L. They serve a useful purpose, but we feel they should be run by a board totally independent of the Government.

The stations were created at the height of the cold war and, informants here note, were provocative toward Communism during the fifties and early sixties. In recent years, they say the two stations have become primarily informational, although the information often angers East European Governments and has frequently led to protests, particularly by Poland.

STATINTL

Obsolescence Dated:

# Voice to East Is It in Tune With Times?

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS JR.  
Times Staff Writer

MUNICH—Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are monuments to the cold war. And, like many monuments in time of stress, they may be in danger of being toppled. Both were born in the 1950s, at the height of the cold war with communism.

Both have been headquartered here ever since. And both ostensibly have been financed by private American donations.

Their mission has been to beam the truth into the captive Communist world and help keep alive the spirit of freedom there.

Radio Liberty beams its broadcasts into the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe concentrates on Russia's satellites—East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania. Maverick Albania and Yugoslavia are not included.

Both have far-flung, multimillion dollar operations, which range from Portugal to Taiwan and employ several thousand people.

## Adjustment to the Times

Both have made adjustments with time. Both have shifted their approach as the once implacable Western and Communist power blocs have shown signs of accommodation.

But both have come under increasing attack. And the question now arising is whether they are relevant to the world today.

The Communists call them "hate stations."

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N.J.) charges that the stations have received hundreds of millions of dollars of secret Central Intelligence Agency funds, with a present \$30 million annual subsidy from the CIA.

They are an uncomfortable irritant for West German Chancellor Willy Brandt as he tries to better his relations with Eastern Europe through his Ostpolitik.

But a Moscow professor says they are "irreplaceable." And a retired 58-year-old Romanian calls their intellectual product "the only tool to get without standing in line."

Even so, there is a faint suspicion in some quarters that the two stations are out of date. Not much is heard any more, as it was in the John Foster Dulles era, about rolling back communism. President Nixon, as well as Brandt, talks about negotiation instead of confrontation.

Whatever it is, the trend indicates that fuel has been added to the long-time Communist heat on the West German government to get rid of these two foreign broadcasters on its soil.

The Bonn government denies any such intent. But at the same time, an official spokesman said there would be no objection if the two organizations wanted to move somewhere else.

"Bonn would undoubtedly be happy if we disappeared from sight," an RFE official admits.

What disturbs officials of the two stations here is an awareness that, underneath the official reassurances, forces are at work to undermine

their positions. They link them to top people in the government who feel the momentum of Brandt's Ostpolitik must be carried forth—if not at any cost, perhaps at the expendable cost of these two organizations.

Twice in recent months, the big and influential magazine stern has come up with questionable stories that Brandt intends to close the stations down before the Munich Olympics in 1972. The magazine's publisher, Henry Nannen, is close to Brandt and the Ostpolitik-pushers, and stories which would be discounted if they appeared elsewhere take on special significance.

This is so despite the fact that Stern was officially informed that quotations attributed to Brandt were taken out of context and applied falsely to the two stations.

Communist sources have threatened a boycott of the Olympic Games because of the presence of the two stations.

No one takes such threats very seriously. They are simply another means of applying pressure on Bonn.

But the charge of secret CIA financing has led to public and private soul-

searching about the nature of the two organizations.

Sen. Case's allegations are neither confirmed nor denied here. But both organizations deny that they operate under any influence or guidance from official Washington.

## Hungary Blamey

Understandably, both organizations feel emphatically they play a vital role.

Despite protestations of independence, both obviously heed the geopolitical realities and keep a close ear tuned to Washington.

The 1956 Hungarian revolt was a political watershed for both organizations. Hungary's freedom fighters, who expected the United States and other nations to come to their aid, were dismayed to learn the Dulles rollback policy did not mean intervention.

From then on, both organizations began to lay heavier stress on reform, not revolt, behind the Iron Curtain. Radio Liberty even got a new name. Before, it had been known as "Radio Liberation."

But the sharpest repercussions fell upon RFE. Hungarians who escaped to the West bitterly accused the station of encouraging them to hold out because help was coming.

## Study Ordered

The charges made headlines. The late Chancellor Konrad Adenauer ordered an investigation.

RFE was eventually cleared, but heads rolled in Munich. "The old crusaders who wanted to push back communism were out," says one RFE official.

Tighter controls were imposed to prevent another such fiasco. One change proved its worth during the 1968 Czech crisis.

Before Hungary, RFE's five "national" stations identified themselves as the "Voice of Free Czechoslovakia," and so forth. This was changed to "The Czech Department of Ra-

After the Warsaw Pact powers invaded Czechoslovakia, rebel pirate senders sprang up all over the country, often calling themselves "The Voice of Free Czechoslovakia." This time there was no mistaken identification or confusion about RFE's role.

Present broadcasts are in fact a far cry from the hate-filled emotional outpourings that Communist propaganda makes them out to be.

Radio Liberty concentrates heavily in its broadcasts to 15 of the lesser Soviet nationalities on cultural affairs. One of its golden rules is that humor is welcome but not sarcasm.

Radio Free Europe tries to make a distinction between greater and lesser evils, if not good and bad, in East European societies. Thus it praises Romania's Nicolai Ceausescu for his independent foreign policy but damns him for his Stalinist domestic habits.

Similarly, the station has cautiously supported Poland's Edward Gierek, who replaced Wladislaw Gomulka following the recent worker unrest. "We have no illusions that he's a liberal," said one RFE official, "but he's a pragmatist and certainly better than the likeliest alternative."

RFE denies that it tries to exploit the difficulties of Communist leaders, it only exposes them.

## Official Exposed

With its massive research and investigatory facilities, RFE often penetrates deep into the scene. In one case, it reported on the luxurious style of living of the Communist Party first secretary in the Sibiu region of Romania.

Shortly thereafter, the man was demoted and transferred to another job.

RFE claims twice the audience behind the Iron Curtain of any other Western station, and says it

continued

M - 480,233

MAR 4 1971

## Red Ultimatum

# Radio Free Europe Peril to Olympics

By Ferris Hartman  
Chronicle Foreign Service

### Munich

West Germany has been aiming for years of holding a "happy, hospitable" Olympic Games in Munich for 16 days beginning August 26, 1972. Now that \$365 million has been spent on the setting alone, the dream threatens to turn into nightmare.

Soviet satellite countries are suddenly sulking and threatening to boycott the games. How can a host be hospitable if even his nearest neighbors refuse to attend his party?

The Communist complaint:

Munich is headquarters for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, "home of CIA spies and revolting propaganda."

The ultimatum:

Their athletes will not take part in the Olympics unless the American stations leave town and take their spies with them.

### BEAMS

Radio Free Europe was founded in 1950 and beams 500 hours a week of programs to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Rumania. Radio Liberty began broadcasting to the Soviet Union one year later in the 13 languages of the USSR. The two stations are staffed with several thousand Americans, Germans and refugees from the east.

Radio Free Europe lost a lot of friends in 1959 when it encouraged the revolt in Budapest by promising Hungar-

ians that America would not let them down. Since then, RFE has retreated to advocacy of peaceful liberalization of Communist regimes.

Radio Liberty used strong words against Soviet dictators during the cold war but calmed down during the Kennedy years. Now it mostly broadcasts objective news programs and western culture.

### CIA

Communist rulers call the programs "distorted" and "trouble makers," and insist that the radio stations are

fronts for the CIA and "the world's most insidious spy operation."

Radio Liberty monitors 60 Soviet radio stations, reads and analyzes 20 Soviet newspapers and magazines, and employs former Russian officers. Radio Free Europe is said to have more information on the satellite countries than the Soviet Union can obtain.

Both stations claim to be private organizations financially supported by donations from the American public, foundations and business organizations. Senator Clifford P. Case (Rep.-N.J.) recently charged that the CIA has contributed "several hundred million" dollars during the past 20 years, or "nearly all their costs."

### MENACE

Willie Daume, president of West Germany's Olympic Committee, calls the battle

of the satellites versus RFE and Liberty "an explosive menace that weighs heavily on the 1972 Olympic Games."

Munich's burgermeister and aides have asked for "an end to American radio activities on West German territory."

Chancellor Willy Brandt has agreed that it is not correct for "foreign stations to broadcast propaganda programs from our soil 25 years after the war."

Both stations operate with the permission of West Germany's postal department on contracts that are renewed every 12 months. According to local officials, the present contracts end June 1 but can be canceled only by giving three months notice in advance. So far, no notice has been given.

STATINTL

## The CIA and broadcasting

SEN. CLIFFORD P. CASE, R-N.J., may or may not have been helpful in disclosing that two "private" stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, are largely financed by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Both stations are based in Munich, Germany, and broadcast to the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. For many millions behind the Iron Curtain, they are the only reliable source of news about the outside world and the listener's own country.

Naturally, the Communist regimes of East Europe fear and dislike such holes in their public-information monopoly. So they are leaping with great propagandistic glee on Sen. Case's disclosure that some \$30 million of the stations' \$34 million annual cost comes from the CIA.

Unfortunately, the issue is embarrassing West German Chancellor Willy Brandt. Mr. Brandt is struggling to improve relations with Russia and the satellites. Now they are pressing him to evict the "CIA stations" from German soil as a step toward normal relations.

For years RFE's and Radio Liberty's ties to the CIA had been an open secret. Sen. Case, however, has made them official and given the Communist bloc propaganda ammunition.

One result may be to reduce the stations' credibility in East Europe. Over the years, the governments there have labored to turn the CIA into a dirty word (while playing down their own more vicious intelligence organizations).

Sen. Case is not trying to halt broadcasting to the Soviet bloc. He just wants to bring it out in the open and has introduced a bill to appropriate \$30 million to RFE and Radio Liberty. The stations activities would then come under the scrutiny of Congress.

Such a move is probably overdue. Cutting the CIA ties will not only make the stations less vulnerable to attack but also will improve their chances of staying on in Munich.

President Nixon should consider turning the stations into a public corporation with a board of directors of businessmen, diplomats, broadcasters and

scholars specializing in East Europe. The corporation could be openly funded by Congress and be responsible to it for its activities.

However the problem is solved, one thing should be stressed: We must continue broadcasting news, commentary and entertainment to the subjects of Communist regimes until their rulers give them more than just one slanted side of every story.

FEARED 'SECRET GOVERNMENT,' CIA, DOES NOT EXIST

[Article by Heinz Paechter; Duesseldorf, Handelsblatt, German,  
2 March 1971, p 22]

New York, 1 March. There are sensational disclosures in the American press: the army is investigating the political views of the citizens and already has a file of 18,000 names, with the biographies and connections not only of suspected persons, but even of prospective politicians like, for example, the son of Stevenson, who was recently elected Senator. After the newspapers had created a commotion, it was announced that President Johnson had at a critical time authorized the army to supplement the police in case of unrest. In preparation for such a task, the intelligence service of the army wanted first of all to inform itself as to whom it must watch out for. The public, however, concluded from this explanation that the army suffers from a lack of work. And now the Senate is interested as to whether the generals have perhaps not other goals for themselves besides national defense. The New Left is already concluding from these disclosures that the army leadership is preparing for fascism in America.

All secret operations of the American government are subjected to constant and distrustful investigations. A few years ago, a book called The Invisible Government, in which the CIA was accused of guiding the hand of the President and dictating policy to him, was published. As an example, it was alleged that this agency had conducted the unsuccessful attack on the Bay of Pigs in Cuba (1961). From circles around John Kennedy there were intimations made at that time that the President was given accomplished facts, and had allowed himself to be pushed by wire-pullers into insufficiently deliberated decisions. But the detailed portrayals of Schlesinger and Sorensen have since made very clear that Kennedy had the opportunity five to seven times to give up the operation, but had decided on its execution himself, right up to the details. The execution, and not the planning of the undertaking, was in the hands of the CIA.

# U.S. Blamed By KGB For Dissent

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Staff Writer

A top official of the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) has accused the West and primarily the United States of encouraging political dissent in the Soviet Union to "undermine" Soviet society.

Senior State Department officials regard the publication of an article by Semen K. Tsvigun, first deputy chairman of the KGB, as unusually interesting since it is very rare for a secret police official of his rank to publicly address himself to delicate internal problems and do so in such a frank manner.

Tsvigun said that the United States, "without giving up methods of military pressure and armed adventures, is now forced more and more to resort to ideological forms of battle" which it is trying to "carry on directly on the territory of the U.S.S.R."

These officials saw Tsvigun's article as an effort to alert party workers around the country to clamp down on all manifestation of dissent before the forthcoming 24th Communist Party Congress.

## Dissent Admitted

U.S. analysts pointed out that the article in effect admitted to a large party audience that may have been unaware of it the existence of political dissent as well as of a specific Jewish dissent in the Soviet Union.

The dissident movement is very small in size and confined to Moscow and several other major cities. There is no evidence that dissent has spread to the countryside.

The article appeared in the February issue of the journal *Politicheskoe Samooobrazovaniye*, which has a circulation of 1.7 million and is designed for political guidance of party members.

The thrust of Tsvigun's article is that the United States through its various intelligence agencies is trying to create and encourage dissent inside the Soviet Union "as a means of changing the current balance of power" in Washington's favor.

## Directed at Youth

Efforts to "morally weaken" Soviet citizens are directed primarily at the Soviet youth and "creative intelligentsia." In this, the United States is using various Zionist organizations which, in turn, are trying to turn "Israel into an instrument of political control over citizens of Jewish extraction."

U.S. tourists, businessmen, diplomats, union leaders, journalists, students, members of various delegations visiting the Soviet Union, according to Tsvigun, all try to convert "some persons of Jewish nationality into pro-Israeli elements, spark their emigration intentions (to Israel) and collect treacherous information."

Western propaganda, particularly broadcasts by Radio Liberty, the Voice of America and similar stations based in Western Europe, has occasionally been effective, Tsvigun said.

"There are cases when individual Soviet citizens fall for the bait of enemy propaganda," he said. "Once under the influence of ideology that is alien to socialism, such citizens turn into supporters of our ideological adversaries. Regrettably, some of them turn into collaborators of Western intelligence services."

## Bourgeois Attitudes

He acknowledged that bourgeois attitudes still exist in the Soviet Union and that "in the conscience of individual Soviet citizens some remnants of the past have been preserved."

"It is known that the main effort of imperialist intelligence services is directed toward our creative intelligentsia and the youth," he said. He

ment manual defining as principal objectives in the "psychological war" ideological influence on "writers, critics, students and other persons forming public opinion."

Another main target of the Central Intelligence Agency is the Soviet scientific community, Tsvigun said. He complained that many Russian scientists "babble too much" and inadvertently reveal state and party secrets to their foreign colleagues.

Some U.S. analysts suggested that the article disclosed the KGB's preeminent role in combating ideological penetration. Others said that the weeks prior to the Party Congress comprise "a no boat rocking period" but added that the article appears to be a "logical precursor to clubbing down the dissident movement."

STATINTL

# RADIO SABOTEURS FROM THE CIA

By OLEG TIMOSHENKO

STATINTL

Experiencing serious troubles and failures in its domestic and foreign policy, imperialism, particularly US imperialism, is organizing ideological and political subversion against socialist countries and the entire anti-imperialist movement. In its aggressive policy directed against peace and the security of nations, imperialism resorts not only to brazen international gangsterism, armed intervention, economic pressure and methods of psychological warfare.

Total espionage and sabotage have become part and parcel of official US policy. A gigantic espionage-subversive apparatus, on which billions of dollars are spent annually, has been created. The activities of numerous espionage organizations in the United States, which carry out the will of the military-industrial complex, are kept secret not only from the American public, but even from the country's highest legislative body, Congress. The major portion of the allocations earmarked for subversive purposes comes from the secret funds of the President and is disguised in the budgets of various agencies and departments.

Quite a lot has been mentioned in the foreign press about the underhanded activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, one of the "spy rings" in the USA.

Once again the CIA bosses, at their headquarters in Langley (Virginia), found themselves in a state of shock.

According to Senator Clifford Case's statement of January 23, 1971, the anti-Soviet radio stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty located in Munich, which are involved in open subversive activities against socialist countries, receive direct financial assistance from the CIA.

Senator Case, a well-known figure in the Republican Party, is a member of the influential Senate commissions on allocations and foreign affairs. According to Senator Case, 33,996,336 dollars were spent in 1969 alone on maintaining the two anti-Soviet radio stations in Munich.

Mr. Case stated, that the bulk of the budgets of the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty stations, which exceeds 30,000,000 dollars annually, are from grants received directly from the CIA; and that Congress had never taken part in the preliminary allotting and factual financing of these radio stations, although hundreds of millions of dollars from government funds had been spent on their maintenance during the last 20 years.

The Senator demanded that the two radio stations be put under the control of the US Congress.

It should be noted, that in his bill Senator Case doesn't suggest discontinuing such financing. His proposal envisages the same amount in funds for the new fiscal year. He also made it clear that now it would be possible to utilize more open forms of financing.

This means that the American Senator would like to make legal in 1971 that which has been concealed by Washington and which they were ashamed to admit during the past decades...

Following the Senator's statement, the State Department also let another "cat out of the bag". One of its representatives, R. McCloskey, in the beginning tried to evade the issue, but had to somehow get out of his state of shock and respond to the Senator's exposure.

R. McCloskey admitted that the State Department sponsors briefings for correspondents from the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty stations and that it was possible that secret information was used during those briefings.

In other words, the representative of the State Department confirms that responsible officials in the USA secretly instruct and lead the Munich stations!

On March 7, 1951 the so-called American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism was organized in the United States, and was later renamed the Committee for Radio Liberty.

The "non-government, private" radio station was carefully camouflaged. It was referred to as an organization of emigrés from Russia, who were concerned about the democratic development of their Homeland. Officially, the Radio Liberty station is listed, for instance, in the "International Reference Book on Radio and Television" (1969-1970) as a private organization of American citizens supported by the New York Committee of Radio Liberty. From the same reference book we further learn that the radio broadcasts prepared by political emigrés from the Soviet Union deal with the past and present of the country, and that this is motivated by an effort to make a contribution to the international exchange of information.

"...Make a contribution to the international exchange of information..." Too fine a phrase for dirty, anti-Soviet propaganda!

As far as the CIA is concerned, it allegedly has no connection with this at all.

The Christian Democratic Party, which at that time headed the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, readily backed the foul activities of the CIA landsknechts.

Thus, the radio saboteurs of the cold war nestled themselves in Munich at 2 Lillienthal Strasse, in the building of the former air terminal, and later at 18 Arebella Strasse, in a special concrete house consisting of three, six-story sections.

But of course their activities were not confined only to radio work.